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Pennsylvania FOLKLIFE

Spring
1979



LEBENS LAUF
von Joh. Nic. Schaefer



Contributors



Dr. Alfred L. Creager grew up in the Pennsylvania German back country and is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy and Religion at Ursinus College and Pastor Emeritus of Trinity Church (U.C.C.) in Collegeville. He also writes haiku.



Phyllis Vibbard Parsons has written on the local history of New York and Pennsylvania, and did special research in the Census of 1790 and Civil War Newspapers. She is Collegeville (Pa.) Borough Secretary. A more complete version of John Shillich Diary appears in *The Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County* (Spring, 1979).



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The Rev. David Rapp is pastor of St. John's United Church of Christ, Mickleys, Whitehall, PA. He has earned a B.A. from Franklin and Marshall College in 1951 and a B.D. from Lancaster Seminary in 1954. His "Attitudes of the Reformed Church Fathers Toward Wordly Amusements" appeared in *Pennsylvania Folklife* in 1958. He was pastor of the charge which included St. Michael's, Berks County, for 16 years. He has also recently (1976) earned the M. Div. degree at Lancaster Seminary.

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(Inside front cover)

COVER:

The gravestones of John Nicholas and Johanna Ysselstein Schaefer are to be found in the Moravian Burial Ground located atop a high hill at Nazareth, Pa. In reality the graves are fifty meters apart and have for years been covered by encroaching sod.

Layout and Illustrations: WILLIAM MUNRO

LEBENS LAUF

von Joh. Nic. Schaefer

(Autobiography of John Nicholas Schaefer 1722-1807)

Transcribed and translated

By WILLIAM T. PARSONS

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barman in fieser angestigung ist für
 uns schmerz in das land zu
 ne so der fieser soß über mit schmerz
 das ist sehr große angst in
 was mit all schmerz mit der
 fieser ganz in angestigung und
 es ist als mife ist auf erdig der
 lesen zu und in das in meiner
 großen angst zum fieser in fieser
 ne barman die soß über mit ein
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 und der fieser das land ist schmerz
 mit in ganz ne ganz auf schmerz
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 in fieser in fieser und ne schmerz
 mit fieser und ne schmerz mit
 zu der fieser, ne schmerz mit
 mit schmerz da schmerz fieser
 über schmerz fieser schmerz
 schmerz in schmerz fieser

[illegible][illegible]

Occasionally the researcher comes across a document which really captivates him, engrossing his attention and occupying his thoughts even when he puts it aside to deal with more mundane affairs of the classroom and the marketplace. This paper relic, fugitive reminder of time past, may turn out to be a tiny link with a forgotten way of life or a by-gone manner of speaking if the scholar is really fortunate. Only rarely, and then often by chance, does he come upon a really remarkable landmark item which, if he is both astute and fortunate, he will recognize for what it is.

Thus when, in June 1974, Doctor Lothar Madeheim of the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, where Archivist Reverend Vernon Nelson and he taught us the course, "*Deutsche Schrift*," brought out a copy of the *Lebenslauf* of John Nicholas Schaefer, the good doctor smiled. Schaefer had written it at Nazareth some time before his death on 12 April 1807, in the best tradition of the Herrnhueters, who were expected to compose such a spiritual biography just before they "went home," as a kind of tally of the different stages of their faith and in preparation for their own final accounting.

Nelson and Madeheim, the Archivists of that Collection, may have recognized then just how significant that small source document was, seventeen small pages, 9½ by 15 centimeters in size, browned paper bound together with a fine black thread. I certainly did not perceive its importance, or I would surely not have tucked it away, to work upon quite leisurely until I had essentially deciphered it by late January 1979. Its historic and linguistic value has impressed me increasingly with each passing week I have worked with it.

Originally I had inquired if any eighteenth century dialect language survivals remained among the voluminous documentary holdings at the Moravian Archives. The answer was the Schaefer *Lebenslauf* itself from this unlettered man, born on the New York frontier and raised on Pennsylvania's counterpart version of that frontier. It certainly was the written form of a very early *Pennsylfaanisch Deutsch* dialect, its words spelled out the best he could to match the sounds of his spoken dialect. And that is one of the splendid lessons of John Nicholas Schaefer's document: as he spoke, just so he wrote it down. Spellings were not at all consistent and often he even omitted letters or forgot whole syllables. And sometimes he ran his syllables together so much that he never sounded them all (e.g. *mein nander* for *mit einander*-together.) But wait, Schaefer must have written before 1807, for that was the year of his death. Yet how many times have we heard that the very first visible forms of an essentially spoken language were the early poems (1849) of Emanuel Rondthaler in Bethlehem or of Henry Harbaugh out in South Central Pennsylvania by 1862 or 1870? Consider then the delight in working with this very special record of one man's tangle with the dialect language, which he probably wrote just at the close of the 1780's.

To judge by the spelling of his words, a valid guide, John Nicholas was already speaking *Pennsylfaanisch*, for he specifically used *heiser*, dialect word for houses, not the hg- *Haüser*. Similarly, *freinde* (dialect for friends, not hg-*Freunde*; and a quite parallel *Teifel* for devil, not *Teufel*; and perhaps best of all, *wohnhais* for dwelling house, and therefore *wohnhaisl'* = tiny dwelling, for hg-*Wohnhäuslein*. To be sure he was not consistently dialect in his usage, for unlike our contemporary *Pennsylfaanisch* forms, he used hg-*heim* for home (not *Haem*); *zwey* was an archaic spelling for hg-*zwei*, but he did not indicate *zuae*, the corresponding dialect form. Certain syllables he collapsed or suppressed in true dialect style, while in other instances, he separated the hard to pronounce sounds with barely vocalized vowels. Umlauted vowels in some cases he simplified to the closest regular vowel sound; in particular, *ä* became *e*, and *ü* became *i*. But vowels *i*, *e* and *o* were hard or soft without spelling differentiation in some instances, while other times *ih*, *eh*, or *oh* adhered to more modern spelling usage. Consonants *d* and *t* were very nearly interchangeable throughout and Schaefer was quite undecided about the use of *ch* combination and the *g* when it carried *ch* sound value. Spelling in general was quite original and John Nicholas very individualistic.

A real bonus of the project, which became obvious only as the work progressed, was the social context of the *Lebenslauf*. This really is a prime document illustrating the thrust of the Great Awakening among ordinary folk of the Pennsylvania Germans. Obviously the Schaefer's, *erweckt* in both Schocharie and Tulpehocken, felt attracted to the emotionalism of the Awakening, whether within or beyond their usual Lutheran (and Reformed) denominations. But trouble followed when



Bethlehem, 1757

Levering, *History of Bethlehem*

Michael Schaefer, parent, concluded that the Moravians in particular were weaning his children away from the Lutheran Mother Church. In an almost contemporary setting, the young people, by now both *erweckt* and estranged, suddenly found the strength to find fault with parental limitations.

Without recognizing it as community reaction of an otherwise liberal frontier, young John Nicholas commented on the hostility shown to the awakened preacher Leybecker of Skippack and the ultimate death of the itinerant pastor. The self-biographer heard both von Zinzendorf and Spangenberg preach and spoke almost reverently of them. Schaefer was absolutely enchanted by the elusive goal of residence in Bethlehem. In contrast, he was clearly fully realistic about the hardships of frontier living.



Bishop A. G. Spangenberg

John Nicholas Schaefer, amenable as he was to the religious forms and values of the Moravian Brotherhood, remained completely unconvinced that their Community Economy could ever be viable. The sooner he could work and compete in what he considered a more normal system of private ownership and individual enterprise, the happier he was! That represented change in attitude indeed, for he had seen his inheritance share of the family farm pass to his youngest sister as he converted to the Moravian Community as a younger man. Female inheritance when older male siblings survived was not common. The adverse judgment he made on the Community Economy of the Brotherhood was relatively simple for Schaefer as Pennsylvania German, for it left him physically hungry and any system which failed to put food on the table was hardly a system he could endorse.

When aged John Nicholas attempted to set down the words of familiar verses from two of his favorite hymns

in the closing section of his *Lebenslauf*, he did so from memory and thus, imperfectly. Considering all factors of age and increasing infirmity combined with shock at the death of his dear wife Johanna, from which he never completely recovered, Schaefer remembered most of the words from those hymns. A correct version of two verses he cited from "Dem blutigen Lamme," may be found in *Evangelisches Gesang-Buch...der Alten, Neuern und Neuestern Lieder der Gemeinde in Ebersdorf* (Ebersdorf:Im Waysen-Haus, 1742), #717:

1. Dem blutigen Lamme, das sich für meine Noth,
am Creutzes-stamme hat zu Tod,
Dem Mann, der meine Schmerzen fühlte
als ich mein Jammer sein Herz durchwühlte.
2. Dem geb ich heute mich ganz auf's neue hin,
zu einer Beute und gänzlichen Gewinn:
Mit mir zu thun, was ihm beliebt,
von mir zu nehmen was ihn betrübet.

On the other hand, Schaefer's version of the Count von Zinzendorf's evangelistic teaching hymn, "Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit," is nearly letter-perfect, a tribute to the success of this work by the Moravian leader. It was adapted for use by virtually every German-speaking denomination of Pennsylvania. It was printed in a Moravian Brethren hymnbook in London as early as 1753, in *Leide des Lammes:Alt- und neuer Brüder-Gesang...für alle Kinder und Seelen Gottes* (London:Haberkorn und Sussischen Schriften, 1753), # 2066 and in *Deutsche Gesangbuch:geistlicher Lieder aus allen Zeiten der christlichen Kirche, mit alter und neuen Melodien...der Reformierten Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Cleveland:Deutsches Verlagshaus der Ref. Kirche, 1893), #291, as well.

The writer wishes to thank Dr. Lothar Madeheim for his comments on a trial transcription-translation and for suggested improvements in style: thanks also to Reverend Vernon Nelson for reading and closely reviewing this entire manuscript. Fond appreciation also to Irene Krohnemann for her usual patience and helpful suggestions as she proof-checked the Hoch-Deutsch segment and English translation. I have tried to turn Schaefer's americanized German into a poetic version of High German, not always absolutely true to proper word order or grammatical usage. In the three column format which follows, the Transcription of the original Schaefer manuscript is printed in the center of the page, with High German translation on the left and the English equivalent on the right. Page numbers of the original or of equivalent locations in the translations are shown as: /⁴, /¹⁴, for example.

Illustrations which reproduce actual handwritten pages as John Nicholas wrote them in the *Lebenslauf* are here published with permission of the Moravian Archives and may not be reprinted in any form without specific permission in advance from the Moravian Archives.



Travel Map (Reise Charte) of Pennsylvania showing related lands and places of the Moravians.

Levering, History of Bethlehem

Den 7. März in dem Jahr 1722, bin ich geboren in Schocharie in Weisersdorf in der Provinz New York. Mein Vater hiess Michael Schäfers. Meine Mutter hiess Anna Margaretha geborne Glaffin, und da ich zwei Jahre alt war, zog ich mit meiner Eltern nach Tulpehocken in Pennsylvanien. Mein Eltern waren

Den 7 Mertz In dem Jahr 1722 bin Ich geboren in Schochrie in Weisersdorf in der broffins Nei gorck. Mein Vatter hies Michal Schäfers. Meine Muter hies Anna Margarta geborne Glaffin und da ich 2 gar ald war, zog ich mit meine Aldern nach Tolpchache in Bensülfaÿ. Meine Äldern waren beide Lutrisch und er-

On March 7, in the year 1722, I was born in Schoharie, in Weisersdorf, Province of New York. My Father's name was Michael Schaefer. My Mother was Anna Margaretha, née Glaff, and when I was two years old, I moved with my parents to Tulpehocken in Pennsylvania. My parents were both Lutheran and

beide Lutherisch und erweckt, und waren um ihre Seligkeit bekümmert, denn sie haben in Schocharie einen Pfarrer, einen erweckten Mann, und es wurden viele durch ihn erweckt. Denn er predigte gewaltig und das Heil seiner Zuhörer lag ihm an. Von dem bin ich auch getauft und er schenkte mir auch eine Bibel. Er hiess Bernhart von Düren. Er war ein Hallenser. Denn er kriegte da viele Bibeln geschickt von Halle, die teilt er aus ^{/2} unter ^{/2} seine Gemeinde und guten Freunde. Es war aber ziemlich viele von den Schochriern heruntergezogen, die sich da in Tulpehocken ansiedelten. Sie bauten auch bald eine Kirche.

Da kam der Pfarrer von Düren manchmal zum Besuch, predigte er in ihrer Kirche und hielt innen das Abendmahl. In etlichen Jahren hörten sie von einem Pfarrer, Casper Leibbecker (Leybecker.) Denn berufen sie und er kam zu ihnen. Der war ein sehr guter Freund des Bruder Spangenberg. Sie bauten auch ein Schulhaus und er wohnte darin und hielt Schule und des Sontags predigte er und er predigte wie der liebe Heiland für uns gestorben wäre und hätte sein Blut für uns vergossen. Da wurde ich erweckt und war bekümmert um meine Seligkeit und ging sehr oft alleine in meiner Verlegenheit und fiel nieder und bat den Heiland, er sollte sich doch über mich er-^{/3} barmen.

In solcher Angst ging ich hin und weinte und bat den Heiland er sollte sich doch über mich erbarmen, denn ich hatte grosse Angst und es war mir, als würde mich der Teufel gleich verschlingen, und es war, als müsste ich auf ewig verloren sein, und ich betete in meiner grossen Angst zum Heiland und sagte: "Erbarme dich doch über mich um deines Blutes Willen." Da war es mir als wenn er zu mir sagte: "Sei getrost! Du sollst leben!" Da war mir wohl und die Angst fiel weg und ich versprach dem Heiland, ich wollte mich ihm ganz ergeben auf ewig seiner zu sein, es möchte mir auch gehen wie es wolde. Ich hielt mich immer an

weckt und waren um ihre seligkeit be kimrt, den sie haben in Schochrey einen Pfarrer, ein erweckter Man und es worden fiele dorch in erweckt. Den er Predigte ge waldig und das heil seiner zu hörer lag im an. von dem bin ich auch ge Taufte und er schenkte mir auch eine bibel. Er hies Bernhat von Duren. Er war ein Hallenser. Den er grich da fiel biblen geschickt von von Halle die teilt er aus under^{/2} under seine gemeine und gute freinde. es waren aber zimlig fiel von den schochrir herrunder gezogen, die sich da in Tolphacken sedlden. sie bauteten auch balt eine Kirge. Da kam der Pfar Vondiren manch mal zum besuch Predigte in ihrer Kirg und hild inne das Abentmal. in etligen Jahren horten sie von einem Pfarren der Casper Leibbecker. Den berufen sie und er kam zu ihne. der war ein sehr guder Freund des bruder Spangenberg. Sie bauten auch ein schul haus und er wont dar in und hilt schul und des sondges breedig er und er bredigt wieder lie[b]e heiland for uns gestorben were und höde sein blut vor uns ver gossen. Da worde ich erweckt und wart bekimmrt um meine selig keit und ging ser offt alleine in meiner Ver legen heit und fil nider und bat den heiland er solde sich doch über mich er^{/3} barmen. in solger angst ging ich hin und weinede und bat den heiland er solde sich doch über mich erbarmen den ich hate grose angst und es war mir als wurde mich der Teifel gleich ver schlingen und es war als miste ich auf Ewig ferloren sein und ich bet[e]te in meiner grossen angst zum heiland und sagte: er barme dich doch über mich um deines blutes willen. Da wart es mir als wen er zu mir sagte: sei ge Trost, du sold leben. da wart mir wol und die angst fil weg und[ich] ver sprag dem heiland ich wolde mich ihm ganz er geben auf ewig seiner zu sein, es mechte mir auch ge[h]n wie es wolde. ich hild mich immer an in so gut ich konde

awakened, and were concerned about their salvation, for they had a pastor in Schoharie, an awakened man, and many were saved through him. For he preached powerfully and the salvation of his listeners resulted from his efforts. I was also baptised by him and he sent me a Bible too. He was called Bernhard von Dueren. He had attended the University at Halle. In fact, he received many Bibles sent out from Halle, which he parcelled out^{/2} among his congregation and good friends. A good many of the people who had journeyed down from Schoharie, settled there at Tulpehocken. Quite soon they built a church.

Pastor von Dueren came there to visit many times, when he preached in their church and conducted Communion service in it. In some years, they got to listen to a minister, Casper Leybecker. They issued him a call and he came to them. He was a very good friend of Brother Spangenberg. They also built a schoolhouse and he lived in it and taught school and Sundays he was Pastor and he preached how the dear Savior had died for us and had shed his blood for us. There I became awakened in the Lord and was concerned for my salvation, and quite often went alone in my perplexity and fell down and prayed to the Savior that he should have^{/3} compassion on me.

In such anxiety I went out and cried and prayed to the Savior that he should pity me for I was greatly distressed, and it was to me as if the Devil was fully intertwined with myself, and it was as though I must be forever lost, throughout eternity, and I prayed in my deepest fear to the Savior and said: "Have mercy upon me for the sake of thy [sacrificed] blood." Whereupon it was as though he said to me: "Be of good cheer. You shall live!" Then I felt happy and the anxiety fell from me and I promised the Savior I would submit myself entirely to Him to be His forever,

ihn so gut ich konnte, und er half mir durch und er brachte mich auch zu der Gemeinde.

Es währte aber nicht lange, da kamen harte Zeiten über unseren Pfarrer Leybecker. Er wurde hart ver- /⁴folgt und die sich zu ihm hielten. Sie schlugen ihm die Fenster ein und warfen mit Steinen in seine Kammer, da er schlief. Er hielt sich aber stille. Da dachten sie vermutlich er wäre nicht zu Hause. Da sie weg waren, stand er auf und ging zum nächsten Nachbar. Da blieb er bis es Tag wurde, und dann ging er zu dem alten Busch. Da war er todkrank. Da fiel es dem Bruder Spangenberg ein, er sollte doch seinen alten Freund Leybecker besuchen, und da er zu ihm kam, kam er noch kaum eine Stunde und er konnte nicht viel mit ihm reden. Der Bruder Spangenberg blieb da und begrub ihn und er hielt ihm die Leichenpredigt. Ich sah mir/⁵ den Bruder Spangenberg sehr genau an und dachte, der Mann ist gewiss ein Kind Gottes! Ich hatte aber nicht das Herz, dass ich ein Wort mit ihm redete. Da waren wir wie die Schafe, die keinen Hirten haben.

Danach redete er noch sehr herzlich mit uns und sagte, "Der liebe Heiland sei der gute Hirt, der sein Leben für die Schafe gelassen." Und dann, nahm er nochmals herzlichen Abschied und ging wieder nach Hause und versprach uns, er wollte uns bald wieder besuchen. Das tat er auch. Er besuchte uns noch ein paar mal und dann nahm er Abschied von uns, sagte, er ging jetzt wieder nach Europa und gab einem jeden die Hand und segnete uns. Das tat uns sehr weh, und dann gingen wir nach Hause.

/⁶ Und als in einem halben Jahr kam der Herr Pfarrer von Düren wieder einmal zum Besuch in der Woche vor Ostern, hielt er auch das Abendmahl. Er konfirmierte auch etliche junge Leute, und da war ich auch dabei, und ich ging das erste mal mit zum heiligen Abend-

und er half mir durch und er brachte mich auch zu der Gemeinde. es wurde aber nicht lange da kamen harte Zeiten über unsern Pfarren Leitbecker. er wurde hart ver-/⁴folgt und die sich zu ihm hilden. [Sie] schlugen im die fenster ein und warfen mitsteinen in seine Kammer da er schlief. er hild sich aber stille. [Da] dachten sie ver mutlig er were nicht zuhaus. da sie wech waren stund er auf und gin[g] zum nechsten nachbar. da blib er bis es Tag warte und den ging [er] zu dem alden Busch. Da wart er Tod Kranck. da fil es dem bruder spangenberg ein, er solde doch seinen alden freind Leibbecker besuche und da er zu ihm kam, lebte er noch kaum eine stunde und er konde nicht fil mit im reden. der bruder spangenberg blieb da und be grub in und er heild im die leigen Predig. ich sahe mir /⁵ den bruder spangenberg ser genau an und dachte der man ist gewis ein Kind Gottes. ich hatte aber nicht das herz das ich ein wort mit ih[m] rede. da waren wir wie die schafe die keinen hirden haben. dar nach rede er noch ser herzlich mit uns und sagte der lieb heyland sey der gute hirt der sein leben für die schafe gelassen und den nam er noch mals herz ligen absch[ie]lt und ging wieder nach huse und versprag uns er wolde uns balt wieder besugen. das Tat er auch. er besuchte uns noch ein Par mal und den naam er abschit von uns, sagte er ging jez wieder nach Eiropa und gab einem ieden die hant und segnet uns. das dat uns ser we[h] und den gingen wir nach hause./⁶ [U]nd wan in einem halben Jahr Kam der herr Pfar Vondirnen wieder ein mal zum besuch in der woche vor Ostern, er hilt auch das abentmal. er Confirmirte auch etlige jun[g]le leide und da war ich auch dabey und ich ging das erste mal mit zum

however things went for me. I have clung to him always as well as I could and he has supported me and brought me to the Church.

But it did not pull through right away there; rather hard times fell upon our Reverend Leybecker. He was vigorously/⁴ persecuted, as were those who supported him. [His detractors] bashed in his window and threw stones into his *kammer* [bedroom] where he slept. But he remained absolutely still. Supposedly then, they thought he was not at home. When they had departed, he stood up carefully and went to the nearest neighbor. He remained with them until day dawned and then he hid in the heaviest underbrush. There he became deathly ill. Then Brother Spangenberg arrived; he intended to visit his old friend Leybecker, but when he [finally] found him, this friend lived barely an hour longer, so he could not say much to him at all. Brother Spangenberg remained there, buried Leybecker and preached his funeral sermon. I took/⁵ a good look at Brother Spangenberg and thought, The man is really a child of God! But my heart was not ready to converse even one word with him. In fact we had become like sheep who no longer had a shepherd.

Afterwards, he spoke to us very earnestly and said, "The dear Savior would be the Good Shepherd who gave up his life for his sheep," and then, once again, he bid fond farewell and returned home, though he promised us he would soon visit us again. And that he did, too. He paid several additional visits and when he finally said goodbye to us, he also said he was returning to Europe and shook hands with each one and blessed us. All that made us very sad, whereupon we all returned to our homes.

/⁶And when, in six months or so, Pastor von Dueren came visiting [on a preaching circuit] during Easter week, he also conducted a communion service. He confirmed some young people, myself among them,

mahl und es war mir sehr wohl dabei, und ich werde es nicht in meinem Leben vergessen, was ich gefühlt in meinem Herzen. Der Herr Pfarrer blieb ein paar Wochen bei uns. Er besuchte in den Häusern und er predigte auch ein paar mal in der Kirche und dann ging er wieder nach Hause. Er wohnte dazumal in der New-Jersey.

Etwa in einem halben Jahr kam der Graf Zinsendorf ins Land und mehrere Geschwister. Es kam auch bald ein Bruder,⁷ Gottlob Bitner [Büttner,] zu uns. Wir kriegten ihn bald lieb. Er predigte in der Kirche und besuchte in den Häusern. Er blieb aber nicht länger bei uns. Er ging wieder nach Bethlehem, und unsere Leute baten ihn, er sollte doch ein gutes Wort einlegen und den Herrn Grafen für sie bitten, dass er uns bald wieder einen Bruder möchte schicken. Und er schickte uns den Bruder Pyrlaeus. Er hielt sich bei Conrad Weiser auf, um einer Indianer Sprache zu lernen. Er besuchte uns fleissig und wir und er redete vieles mit uns von dem lieben Heiland und dass er sein Blut vergossen hätte für uns arme Menschen. Und bald reiste der Herr Graf von Zinsendorf nach Schammoken mit seiner Reisegesellschaft. Sie kehrten alle bei uns ein und blieben etliche Stunden da. Danach reisten sie wieder und mein lieber Vater ging mit ihnen bis an den zweiten Blauen Berg, und da sie wieder zurück kamen, ^{/8} predigte der Herr Graf in unsrer Kirche, und nicht lange hernach sandte er uns den Bruder Philip Meier [Meurer] zum Prediger in unsrer Kirche als Lutherischer Pfarrer.

Der Herr Graf kam auch bald wieder und predigte da noch einmal in der Kirche und er schickte uns noch ein paar Geschwister zum Schule halten. Ich kriegte den Bruder Meurer sehr lieb, und er riet mir, ich sollte doch einmal in Bethlehem besuchen. Das tat ich und es gefiel mir sehr wohl in Bethlehem und ich kriegte Lust dazu wann nur eins gefiel mir nicht: das war das Economie-leben. Da konnte ich

heiligen abentmal und es war mir ser wol Dabeÿ und ich werde es nicht in meinem leben ver gessen was ich gefiehl in meinem herzen. der Herr Pfar blieb ein Par wochen beÿ uns. er besuch[te] in den heisser und er predigde auch ein Par mal in der Kirge und den ging er wider nach haus. er Wonde dazumal in der Gersie (New Jersey). etwa ineinem halben Jahr kam der Graf ZinsenDorf ins land und me[h]r[er]e geschwister. es kam auch balt ein bruder ^{/7} Gottlob bitner zu uns. Wir grigten in balt lieb. er Predigte in der Kirge und besuchte in den heiser. er blib aber nicht langer beÿ uns. er ging wider nach Bethlehem und unsere leide baden in er solde doch en gut word ein legen und den hern Graffen for sie bitten das er uns bald wieder einen bruder mechte schicken. und er schickte uns den bruder Berleus [Pyrlaeus]. er hild sich beÿ Conrad Weiser auf um eine Indiianer sprag zu lern. er besuchte uns fleissig und wier u. er rede[ten] füles (i.e., vieles) mit uns von dem lieben heiland und das er sein blut ver gossen hete vor uns arme Menschen. und bald reisde der herr graff von ZinsenDorf nach sch[a]mmoca [Shamokin] mit seiner reisgesellschaft. sie Kerten alle beÿ uns ein und blieben etligestunden da. dar nach reisden sie weider und mein lieber Vater ging mit ihnen bis an den Zweiten blauen berg und da sie wider zu rik kamen/⁸ bredigde der herr gaf in unsrer Kirge und nicht lange hernag sinde er uns den bruder Philib Meier [Meurer] Zum brediger in unser Kirge als Lutrischer Pfar. der herr Graf kam auch balt wieder und bredige Da noch ein mal in der Kirge und er s[ch]ickte uns noch ein Par geschwister zum schul halden. ich grigte den bruder Maier ser lieb und er rit mir ich solde doch ein mal in Bethlehem besugen. das dat ich und es ge-fül mir ser wol in Bethlehem und ich grigte lust dazu wonn nur eins gefil mir nicht. das war das Eckomie leben. Da konde ich nicht

and I went to communion the first time and I was exceedingly happy. I shall never forget in my entire lifetime, what I felt then in my heart. The minister remained with us several weeks. He visited in our homes and he preached several times in our church and then he again returned to his home. At that time he lived in New Jersey.

Approximately a half-year later, Count von Zinzendorf came into the country along with several Brothers and Sisters. Soon after, Brother⁷ Gottlob Buettner also came to us. We soon came to love him well. He preached in our church and visited in our homes. But he didn't stay with us very long. He returned to Bethlehem and our people requested that he intercede with the Count to ask him that he might soon again send us another Brother. And he sent Brother Pyrlaeus, who was living at Conrad Weiser's so as to learn an Indian language. He visited us diligently and he counseled much with us about the beloved Savior, who had shed his blood for us poor men. And soon Count von Zinzendorf travelled to Shamokin with his travelling company. They all stopped at our house and stayed there several hours. Thereafter they all set out again and my dear Father went along as far as Second Blue Mountain; when they returned by the same path, the Count/⁸ preached in our church and not very long afterwards, he sent us Brother Philip Meurer to be Lutheran pastor in our church.

The Count also returned later and preached in our church once more and sent us several more of the Faithful to teach school. I came to love Brother Meurer very well and he advised me I should pay a visit to Bethlehem. That I did, and I was quite pleased in Bethlehem, In fact, I was greatly taken by it, and indeed, only one thing displeased me about it. That was to live by their Community Economy. I was

mich nicht darein finden.

Es war an den Pfingstfeiertagen und ich blieb über die Feiertage da und dann ging /⁹ ich wieder nach Hause, und es war mir recht wohl in Bethlehem gewesen und die Brüder recht schön mit mir gemacht, und ich kriegte gleich Erlaubnis zu kommen wenn ich wollte.

Da ich nach Hause gekommen war, fragten mich meine Eltern, wie es mir gefallen hätte in Bethlehem. Ich sagte es hätte mir recht wohlgefallen, und ob ich den Gedächte von ihnen zu gehen. Ich sagte ja. Sie sagten ich würde wohl nicht langer in Bethlehem sein. Dann würde ich wiederkommen. Ich sagte, wenn ich einmal werde dort sein, werde ich wohl nicht so bald wiederkommen, und sie sagten es würde mich wohl bald reuen und meine zwei Brüder und zwei von meinen Schwestern wenn ich ginge, so wollten sie/¹⁰ auch mit mir gehen. Da aber das meine Eltern hörten, waren sie sehr betrübt und sagten, ob ich denn dächte, es könnte niemand selig werden, als wer in Bethlehem wäre. Ich sagte, ich glaubte, dass viele Menschen selig würden, die eben nicht in Bethlehem wären, und ich sagte, ich hätte mich resoltiert auf eine Probe vier Wochen hin zu gehen und das tat ich.

Und im Herbst ging ich und mein Bruder miteinander und wir [gingen] nach Bethlehem und wir blieben vier Wochen da und arbeiteten fleissig und wir waren sehr froh, da die vier Wochen um waren und sagten oft zu einander das Economie-leben stünd uns nicht an, denn es hatte uns /¹¹ manchmal sehr gehungert und dann gingen wir wieder mit starken Schritten nach Hause.

Und das nächste Frühjahr darauf ging meine älteste Schwester nach Bethlehem und wir sagten zu ihr, sie sollte uns fleissig schreiben wie es ihr gefiel. Das tat sie und schrieb uns bald es gefiel ihr wohl. Danach

drein finden. es war an den Pfingst feier Tagen und ich blieb über die feier Tage da und den ging /⁹ ich wieder nach hause und es war mir recht wol in Bethlehem gewesen und die brieder recht schön mit mir gemacht und ich grigte gleig er laubtnis zu kommen wen ich wolde. da ich nach hause gekommen war, frachten mich meine aeldern wie es mir gefallen höde in Bethlehem. ich sagte es höde mir recht wolgfalen und ob ich den gedechte von ihnen zu gen. ich sagte ja. sie sagten ich würde wol nicht lan[g]e in Bethlehem sein. den würde ich wider kommen. ich sacht wen ich ein mal werde dort sein, werde ich wol nicht so balt wider kommen und sie sagten es würde mich wol balt raieren und meine zwey brider und zwey von meinen schwestern sagten zu mir wen ich ginge so wolden sie/¹⁰ auch mit mir gen. da aber das meine aeldern hörden, waren sie ser betribt und sagten ob ich den dechte es könne niemand seelig werden als wer in Bethlehem were. ich sagte ich glaubte das füle menschen seelig werden die eben nicht in Bethlehem weren und ich sagte ich höde mich resoltiert nach auf eine brobe fűr wochen hin zu gen und das Tadich. und im herbest ging ich und mein bruder mein nander [i.e., miteinander] und wier nach Bethlehem und wir bliben fűr wochen da und arbeiteten fleissig und wir waren ser fro, da die fűr wochen um waren und sagten oft zu ein nander das Econmie leben stind uns nich an, den es hatte uns /¹¹ manig mal ser gehungert und den gin[g]en wir wider mit starcken schriden nach hause. und das nechste fűr jahr [i.e., Frühjahr] darauf ging meine aelste schwester nach Bethlehem und wir sagten zu ihr sie solde uns flessig schreiben wie es ihr fil. das dat sie und schrib uns balt es gefil ihr wohl, dar nach resoltirden sich meine

not really able to satisfy myself with it.

That occurred on the Whitsuntide holidays; I remained there throughout the days of that holiday and then I went/⁹ back home again. All that in Bethlehem pleased me intensely and the Brothers had treated me handsomely. I was delighted to receive permission to come here if I wished to.

When I had once again returned home, my parents questioned me how I had liked it in Bethlehem. I said that I was really very well pleased [and in turn they wondered] if my thoughts often turned to them I responded yes. They answered that I should really not be in Bethlehem much longer. With that I really wanted to come back. I said, if I shall only be able to stay there for a while, then I will not wish to return very soon. And they said it would be better if I would soon repent. However, both my brothers and two of my sisters [desired that] if I go, they would wish/¹⁰ to accompany me also. When my parents heard of that, however, they were really perturbed and commented on whether I thought that anyone could be holy outside of Bethlehem. I answered that I believed many persons were saved who didn't even live in Bethlehem and I said I had resolved for myself to go for a trial visit of four weeks, and I did just that.

In Autumn, my brother and I went together to Bethlehem and we stayed there four weeks and worked diligently, yet we were very happy when the four weeks time was up and we often said to each other that the Community Economy living did not suit us at all well, for/¹¹ many times we had really gone hungry, so then we turned homeward again with heavy footsteps.

The following Spring my oldest sister went off to Bethlehem and we told her that she should write regularly to us how things would go there. She did that and soon wrote telling us that she was well

resolvierten sich meine Eltern sich den selben Sommer in Bethlehem zu besuchen, und ich führte sie mit dem Wagen dahin und wieder nach Hause. Nachdem wir ein paar Tage in Bethlehem waren und es gefiel ihnen wohl und meine Schwester freute sich gar sehr mit uns.

Und im Herbst war ein Synodus in Heidelberg und es kamen viel Geschwister von Bethlehem auf der Synodus und da er aus war, machten wir uns fertig und nahmen /¹² Abschied von unseren lieben Eltern und den übrigen Geschwistern. Der Abschied dann war sehr schmerzlich und wir weinten alle und so gingen wir, ich und meine zwei Brüder und meine Schwester, die jetzige Schaukirch, und so gingen wir miteinander nach Heidelberg und da wir sind gekommen, war der Synodus aus und da gingen wir mit den Geschwistern nach Bethlehem, und in dem Jahr 1744 den 7. November, kamen wir in Bethlehem an, zu aller Geschwister Freude und bald zogen wir mit ein das neue Ledigen-Brüder-Haus, denn es war gerade fertig geworden da wir kamen.

Aeldern sich den selben sommer in Bethlehem zu besugen und [ich] fürde sie mit dem Wagen dahin und wieder nach hause. nachdem wir ein Par nach hause, nachdem wir ein Par Tage in Bethlechem waren und es gefül ihnen wol und meine schwester freide sich gar ser mit uns. und im herbest war ein sinedus [Synodus] in Heidelberg und es kammten füel geschwister von Bethlehem auf den sinodus und da er aus war, Machden wir uns ferdig und namen/¹² abs[ch]it von unsern Lieben aeldern und den überigen Geschwister. der abschied denn war ser schmerzlig und wir weinden alle und so gin[g]en wir, ich und meine 2 brider und meine Schwester die jezige Schaukirgin, un so gingen wir mit ein ander nach Heidelberg und dawir hin kommen war der sinodus aus und da gin[g]en wir mit den Geschwister nach Bethlehem und In dem Jar 1744 den 7 November kamen wir in Bethlehem an zu aller gesch[w]ister freide und balt zogen wir mit ein das neie Ledige brider haus den es war grade ferdig geworden da wir kamen und In dem Jar den 15

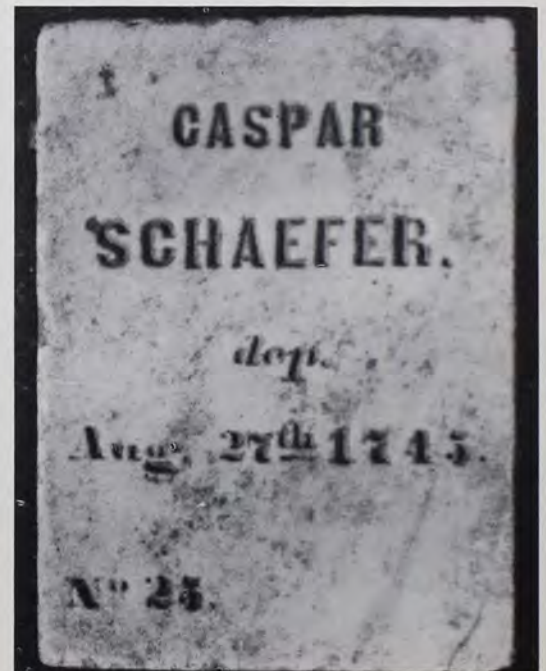
pleased. With that, my parents made up their minds to visit Bethlehem themselves that very Summer. I myself took them over there [and eventually back home again] by horse and wagon. After we had been in Bethlehem a few days and they had found it satisfactory, my sister was most happy with us.

In Autumn a Synod was held in Heidelberg and many Brothers and Sisters came from Bethlehem to the Synod and when it was over, we got things ready and then/¹² departed from our dear parents and remaining siblings. Departure was quite sorrowful and we all cried, but finally we went, i.e., my two brothers, my sister Schaukirch (by her married name) and myself; we went together to Heidelberg, but when we arrived the Synod had already adjourned, so we all went with the Faithful to Bethlehem, and on 7 November, 1744, we arrived in Bethlehem, to the great joy of all the friends and relatives and soon we men moved into the brand-new Single Brothers House, for it had just then been completed when we came.



Single Brothers' House of the Bethlehem Moravian Community

Gravestone of John Caspar Schaefer, second brother to die after arrival.



Und in dem Jar, den 15. ging mein jüngster Bruder heim. Das tat mir sehr weh, denn ich hatte ihn sehr lieb. Und in dem Jahr 1745,¹³ den 7 Februar wurde ich in die Gemeinde aufgenommen und es war mir sehr wohl dabei. Und in dem selben Jahr, den 27. August ging auch mein anderer Bruder heim. Das tat mir sehr schmerzlich, meine zwei Brüder so geschwind zu verlieren. Und in dem Jahr 1746 ging ich das erste mal mit der Gemeinde zum Abendmahl den 4. Juli und es war mir sehr wohl dabei.

Und bald hernach kam mein lieber Vater uns zu besuchen und er redete viel mit mir, und er fragte mich, ob ich nicht wollte zu ihm kommen. Er wollte mir seinen Platz geben, und er wollte mir ihn vermachen in seinem Testament. Ich sagte ihm das wäre umsonst, denn ich könne wohl nicht mehr zu ihm kommen, denn ich wäre jetzt bei der Gemeinde. da wolde ich leben und/¹⁴ sterben, es mechte mir auch gen wie es wolde. da war er unzu friden über mich und sagte wer [i.e., wenn er] zu haus kömme, so wolde er sein Testament machen und das [tat] er auch und ver

ging mein j[ü]ngster bruder heim. das dat mir ser we[h] den ich hate in serlieb. und in dem Jar 1745/¹³ den 7 den Febewarý worde ich in die gemeine auf genommen und es war mir ser wol da beý. und in dem selben gar den 27 August ging auch mein ander bruder heim. das dat mir ser schmerzlig meine zweý brider so geschwind zu ver lieren. und in dem Jar 1746 ging ich das erste mal mit der Gemeine zum ab[e]ntmal den 4 Juleý und es war mir ser wol da beý, und balt her nach kam mein Lieber Vater uns zu besugn und er rede[te] fiel mit mir, und er fragde mich ob ich nicht wolde zu ihm kommen. er wolde mir seinen blaz geben und er wolde mir ihn ver machen in seinem Testament. ich sagte ihm das were omsonst, den ich köne wol nicht mer zu ihm kommen, den ich were jez beý der Gemeine.

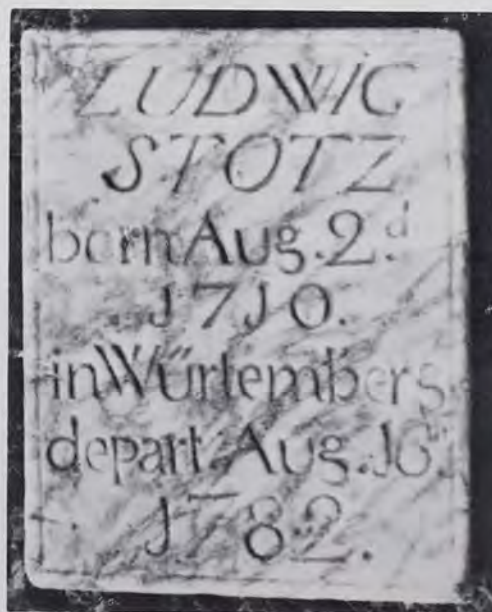
Da wollte ich leben und/¹⁴ sterben, es möchte mir auch geben wie es wollte. Da war er unzufrieden über mich und sagte wenn er zu Hause käme, so wollte er sein Testament machen, und das tat er auch und vermachte meiner jüngsten Schwester

In that [same] year, on 15 [November,] my youngest brother went [to his heavenly] home. That was very painful for me, for I loved him dearly. On/¹³ 7 February, 1745, I was received into the Community and I was surely well provided by that fact. And on the 27th August of the same year, my other brother also went home [died]. That was terribly painful to me to lose both my brothers so quickly. On 4 July of the year 1746, I went to Love Feast with the congregation for the first time and that was certainly good for me.

Soon afterwards my dear Father came to visit us and he pleaded at length with me, and he asked me whether I didn't want to come to him. He would give me his place and would bequeath it to me in his Will. I told him that would be done in vain, for I am no longer able to come to him since I am now in the Community. There I want to live and/¹⁴ to die, let happen to me what will. With that he was most dissatisfied with me and said that, when he should return home, he would certainly make his Will.

¹⁴ Aus dem obmüßte mir auf ganz die
ne wöhlen danke ne üngü friden über
mich und sagte mir zu faß kömme so
wöhlen ne sein Testament machen und
das ne auf und mir maßt mir
gucken freust du blog und ich
dann für zu drey mit mir am
heil, und in dem jar 1746 wöhlte mir
an gewagen zu freuden und beia
nach Gnadenhal kömme auf die mir
beantworfen und den 25 December
wöhlte ich gewalt mit der Johanna
bome Eißelsteinin und den 29 Jan
zog mir mit nach 3 Jar nach Gnaden
hal, und wir fahen mit einander eine
un Richte Eß und wir wöhlten auf
mit 5 kinden gefangen 3 töchter und
2 söne und 2 töchter ginnend
voran zum freiland die 2 fahen
auf in Gnadenhal im Ludwig bome
fahen wöhlen und ich fahen
die in Gnadenhal und fahen

Page 14 of the Lebenslauf, detailing family concerns of John Nicholas



Ludwig Stotz and Family lived at Gnadenhal with the Schaefers

machte meiner J[ü]ngsten schwester den blaz und ich kam ser zu korz mit meinem aörb Tail, und in dem Jar 1746 wort mir an get ragen zu heiraden und solde nach Genatenthal kommen auf die neie blantaschin und den 25 December wurde ich getraut mit der Johana ge borne Eisselsteinin und den 29sten zogen wir mit noch 3 Par nach Gnaten Tal und wir hatten mit einander eine ver knigte Eh [i.e., vergnügte Ehe] und wir worden auch mit 5 Kinder gesegnet, 3 töchter und 2 söne Töchter und zwei Söhne, und zwei Töchter gingen uns voran zum Heiland.

Die zwei Jahre da ich in Bethlehem im Ledigen-Brüder-Haus wohnte, war ich fast beständig in Gnaden-thal und half [beim] haus-^{/15} bauen und zimmern. Wir bauten ein Wohn-häuserlein [ein kleines Wohnhaus] und eine Scheuer, und dann waren wir vierzehn Jahr in Gnaden-thal. Es war aber dazumal in der Economie, wie es jetzt ist. Der Kost und Kleidung ging es schwach, und ich musste das wenige, was ich hatte immer mitzusetzen.

Der Bruder Spangenberg besuchte uns fleissig und bedauerte uns und sagte, wenn wir alt werden sollten, wir's besser kriegen. Da ich aber alt wurde und krank an meinen Füßen, fiel mir's oft ein was der Bruder Spangenberg gesagt hätte. Ich sagte es auch den Brüder das tat mir doch weh. Es half mich aber nicht viel, und da die verzehn Jahr um waren, zogen wir nach Nazareth, und da die Economie zu Ende ging, kamen wir auch vor uns und fingen unsere eigene Wirtschaft an. Und wenn es uns gleich manchmal harte ging,^{/16} so waren wir doch vergnügt, und wir baten den Heiland, dass er uns sollte durchhelfen, und das tat er auch und gab seinen Segen reichlich und stärkte uns bei unser Arbeit und so half er uns durch bis in der 24. März des Jahres 1783.

Da ging meine liebe Frau geschwind heim an einem Schlag und ich wurde Witwer. Das war mir

den Platz und ich kam sehr zu kurz mit meinem Erbteil, und in dem Jahr 1746 wurde mir angetragen zu heiraten und sollte nach Gnaden-thal kommen auf die neue Plantation [Plantage] und den 25. Dezember wurde ich getraut mit der Johanna geborne Eisselsteinin [Ysselsteinin] und den 29sten zogen wir mit noch drei Paaren nach Gnaden-thal, und wir hatten miteinander eine vergnügte Ehe und wir wurden auch mit fünf Kindern gesegnet, drei und 2 Töchter gin[g]en uns foran zum Heiland. die 2 Jahre daich in Bethlehem im Ledigen brider hause wonde war ich fast bestendig in Gnaden-thal und half haus ^{/15} g[e]-baue und zimren. wir bauten ein wonhais und eine scheier, und den waren wir 14 Jar in Gnaden Tahl. es war aber dazumal in der Eckonomie, wie es jez ist. der Kost und gleidung ging es schwach und ich musste das wenige was ich hate immer mitzusezen. der bruder Spangenberg besuchte uns fleisig und bedaurte uns und sagte wen wir alt wurden solden wirs besser grigen. Da ich aber ald worde und grank an meinen fiessen fül mirs oft ein was der bruder Spangenberg gesagt häde. ich sagte es auch den brider[n] das dat mir doch we[h]. es ha[l]f mich aber nicht fül, und da die 14 Jar umwaren, zogen wir nach Nazareth, und da die Economie zu ende ging, kammen wir auch for uns und fin[g]en unse re eigene Wirt schaft an. und wen es uns gleig mannig mal harte ging, ^{/16} so waren wir doch ver knigt und wir baten den Heiland das er uns solde durch helfen und das dat er auch und gab seinen segen reiglig und sterckede uns beÿ unser arbeit und so ha[l]f er uns durch bis in d. 24 mrz das Jar 1783. da ging meine liebe Frau geschwind heim an einem schlag und ich ward witwer. das war mir ein groser schmerz und ich konde mich gar nicht in den elenden witwer stand

He did precisely that and made over the place to my youngest sister and I came up short with my share of the inheritance and in 1746 I proposed to get married and should go and seat upon the New Plantation [Settlement] at Gnaden-thal and on the 29th [December, 1746,] we set out with three other couples to Gnaden-thal and we enjoyed a happy marriage, blessed by five children, three daughters and two sons, of whom two daughters preceded us into eternity.

The two years I [theoretically] lived in the Single Brothers House in Bethlehem, I was almost continuously in Gnaden-thal to help with the house-^{/15} building and interior carpentry. We built a very small dwelling house and a barn and we stayed for fourteen years in Gnaden-thal. But at that time it operated as a Community Economy as it still is now. Food and clothing came quite poorly and I had the very least I have ever had to make do with.

Brother Spangenberg visited us regularly and commiserated with us and said as we became older, we would have it better. But when I got old, I only got sore feet, so the thought of what Brother Spangenberg said has often occurred to me. I kept telling the Brothers that I was in pain, but that didn't help much either, for only when the fourteen years were up, did we travel to Nazareth and since the Community Economy there was ending, we were on our own and started up our own business. And if then many times things still went hard for us,^{/16} we were quite content and we prayed to the Lord that he should help us through [those hard times,] and he surely did that and gave his blessing richly and fully upon us through our work and so he pulled us through everything together until 24 March, 1783.

Then my dear wife crossed over very quickly from a stroke and I became a widower. That was a heavy sorrow for me, and I could

ein grosser Schmerz, und ich konnte mich gar nicht in den elenden Witwerstand finden, und es war mir so schwer dass ich [wusste] mir oft das wieste als lange in dem Stand zu sein. Und da einmal sehr verlegen in meinem Herzen war, fiel mir ein, ich wollte mir doch einmal eine Losung aufschlagen und ich kriegte die. Ich habe dein Gebet/¹⁷ gehört und deine Tränen gesehen und ich schlug mir noch eine auf, die hiess: "Befehl dem Herrn deine Wege und hoffe auf ihn; er wird es wohl machen und da wurde mir wohl in meinem Herzen."

Dem blutigen Lamme, das sich
für meine Noth
Geblute hat zu Tod.
Dem Fürsten der so Schmerzen
fühlte, da

Dem gab ich heute, mich ganz
auf's neue hin,
Zu einer Beute und gänzlichen
Gewinn:
Mit dir zu thun was ihn beliebt,
Von mir zu nehmen was ihn
betrübet.

(Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit,
(Das ist mein Schmuck und
Ehrenkleid;
(Damit will ich vor Gott be-
stehn,
(Wenn ich zum Himmel werd
eingehn.

(Aus einem Gedicht von
Nik. Ludw., Graf von Zin-
sendorf)

finden und es war mir so schwer
das ich mir oft das wieste als lange
in dem stand zu sein. und da ein
mal ser ver legen in meinem herzen
war, fülmir ein ich wolde mir doch
einmal eine Losung auf schlagen und
ich grigte die. Ich habe dein gebet
/¹⁷ gehört und deine Trenen gesen
und ich schlug mir eine auf, die
his: Befel dem hern deine Wege und
hoffe auf in. er wird es wol machen
und da wurde mir wol in meinem
he[r]zen.

dem bludige Lamme, das sig fir
meine noth,
geblute hat zu Tod,
dem fürsten der so schmerzen
filte, da
dem gab ich heide mich ganz auf's
neie hien,
zu einer beide und genselig von
gewin:
mit die zu dun was in beliebt,
von mir zu nehmen was in be-
trüebet.

Christi blut und gerechtigkeit,
das ist mein schmuck und ehren
kleit;
da mit wil ich for Gott besten,
wen ich in himmel werd ein gen.

never really find myself in that ter-
rible status as widower and it was
difficult for me so often, the worst
[thing was] to be so long in that
condition. And then things seemed
so out of place in my heart that
it occurred to me, I just wanted
to catch a sign and finally one came:
I heard/¹⁷ Thy Prayer, saw Thy
Tears, and finally came across [the
sign,] which was called: "Trust in
the ways of the Lord and put your
hope in Him. He will heal and
then shall all be well in my heart."

For the bloody Lamb, which
for my need
Did bleed to death.
Of the Prince who felt such
pain, and

To whom this day I gave myself
completely once again
As His bounty and an absolute
prize;
To do with you what is His
pleasure.
To take from me His great
displeasure.

(Christ's Blood and Righteous-
ness,
(That is my Jewel and Clothing
of Honor,
(With that will I appear be-
fore God
(When I shall enter into His
Heaven.

(From a poem by Nicholas
Ludwig, Count of Zinzen-
dorf)

geseht und in die Tücher gefas-
sen und ich habe mir noch eine auf die
fist daselbst dem Herrn deine Wege
und hoffe auf in. er wird es wol machen
und da wurde mir wol in meinem
herzen. Ich habe dein gebet
/¹⁷ gehört und deine Tränen gesehen
und ich schlug mir eine auf, die
hiess: Befehl dem Herrn deine Wege
und hoffe auf ihn; er wird es wol
machen und da wurde mir wol in
meinem Herzen.

Philip Jacob Michael:

Ecclesiastical Vagabond or "Echt Reformirte" Pastor

By DAVID H. RAPP

Philip Jacob Michael, weaver, missionary pastor, patriot, and chaplain, was called "the best of the independent Reformed ministers" by no less an authority than Dr. William J. Hinke.¹ The chaplain to the First Battalion, Berks County Militia, Domine Michael was never ordained and was never admitted to membership in the Coetus yet left an indelible mark on the congregations of Berks, Lehigh, Montgomery, and Northampton Counties.

Perhaps the best place to begin is with the revered pastor-hymn writer-historian on the Reformed Church, Dr. Henry Harbaugh. Those who have read Harbaugh's *Lives of the Fathers* and his magazine *The Guardian* know of the strong feelings that revered pastor-professor had about many aspects of Reformed Church Life. As the "popularizer" of the Mercersburg Movement of Schaff, Rauch and Nevin, Harbaugh through sermon, magazine, and book took constant aim at any and everything that was not "Echt Reformirte." His opposition to the Free Synod as fostered by the Hermans perhaps led Dr. Harbaugh to be opposed to anyone who worked outside the pale of authority.

Referring to the ordination of the convicted murderer, the Rev. Cyriacus Spangenberg, Harbaugh writes, "It seems that he had ingratiated himself with his uncle, the good and unsuspecting Rev. Mr. Dubbendorff, so that he very improperly gave him a recommendation, and interceded for his ordination with a certain frivolous preacher named Philip Jacob Michael, who also accomplished the iniquity. Thus, not by the door, but 'climbing up some other way' was this wolf admitted into the fold."²

The minutes of the Coetus of 1785 confirm Harbaugh's estimation of Spangenberg and Michael. "Cyriacus Spangenberg von Reidemeister, who twice before asked for examination and ordination, but whose request was refused on account of his bad character, caused himself to be ordained, on recommendation and intercession of his cousin, Dubbendorff, by a

careless and bad minister named Philip Jacob Michael."³

In a footnote, Dr. Harbaugh says this of Michael: "It does not appear that this man ever belonged to the Coetus. Mention is made of a Mr. Michael, who was evidently this same man, in the records of the church in Long Swamp, Berks County, Pa., as having been pastor there from 1750 to 1754. It is also said that one Michael, who was never a member of Coetus, organized the Michael's Church, in Berks County, which is called by his name. This must be the same man. He is mentioned in the Coetal minutes of 1771 as having, previous to that time, preached in Maxatawny, Berks County, leaving the church there in a wretched condition; it having been ruined by bad ministers, 'so that there are few remaining who adhere to the true teaching of our church; the most of them confess no religion at all.' He was some ecclesiastical vagabond, no doubt, like the one whom he now presumed to invest with the holy office. (Coetal Minutes, 1771). He died in the neighborhood of Michael's Church. A Mr. Herzel, also an irregular preacher, buried him."⁴

Before leaving Harbaugh's estimation of Domine Michael, we turn to Harbaugh's life of Johann Heinrich Helffrich in which Harbaugh documents the pitiable state of affairs in which Helffrich's churches had fallen. Says Dr. Harbaugh, "While other parts of German Pennsylvania, after 1746, when Mr. Schlatter began to operate, and even, in some settlements, previous to his arrival, were provided with learned and pious ministers, who stood in regular ecclesiastical connections, this region was afflicted, for the space of full 40 years, by a succession of unordained, irresponsible, ecclesiastical vagrants, who were not only irregularly in office but generally grossly immoral in their lives. This reign of ecclesiastical hirelings, with its ignorance and vice, was inaugurated by such men as Philip Jacob Michael . . .

"The reign of each one was generally short; as the piety and good sense of the old people were insulted

by their crude ministrations and immoral lives. But they got rid of one only to be afflicted again by another like him. Gradually the piety of the fathers itself suffered, and the young grew up in ignorance and vice . . .

"Such was the state of religion in this region previous to Mr. Helffrich's arrival among them, in 1772."⁵

Somewhere between Harbaugh's total dismissal of Michael and the devotion of St. Michael's congregations who called themselves "Die Liebe Michael's Kirche" must fall a 20th century appraisal of Michael. This latter phrase originates in the original record book of St. Michael's Church in a paragraph written by Daniel Schumacher, the Lutheran pastor, in 1772, which states:

"I the undersigned herewith avow that everything recorded here actually transpired as stated, and is affirmed, confirmed and corroborated, after I had been courteously requested by the members of both denominations to properly arrange this Church Record. My heart's desire is that God would protect His beloved Michael's Church, bless the elders and deacons, as well as the entire congregation, in time and through eternity, granting success to all faithful preachers, protecting them by His grace, as with a shield."⁶

As you may assume, along with the excellent Reformed church historian William J. Hinke, I come down on Michael's side. The balance of this paper will deal with a brief biography of this "Ecclesiastical Vagabond," (Harbaugh's term: "Herumlauffer"), a listing of the churches he served, and some judgment placed upon his contribution to the life and thought of the people whom he loved and served.

Born in 1716 in Germany and a weaver by trade, we have no knowledge of when Philip Jacob Michael emigrated from his native land to Penn's colony. He probably arrived in Pennsylvania as a minor (under the age of 16) prior to the year 1732, for his name does not appear on the ship lists. A Jacob Michael arrived in 1731, but he had a wife and three children, Maria Margaretta, Catharina, and Philip Lawrence. More than that, his signature does not match the autograph of the pioneer preacher.⁷

Philip Jacob Michael married Sarah, daughter of John Webb of Exeter Township, Berks County. He appears on the tax lists of Ruscombmanor Township in 1754. (This township was later divided into Rockland Township where he lived, and Longswamp.) In his will dated May 6, 1786, and probated at Reading on June 17, 1786, Michael mentions his four sons and one daughter — John, Moses, Philip, William, Sara.⁸

Hinke, in the history of the Goshenhoppen Reformed Charge, prints this will which lists his holdings as 96 acres situated partly in Longswamp and Rockland Townships. A map of the Longswamp area as found in the Berks County Historical Society shows a 60-acre

tract bounded by lands of Henry Adams, George Boone, Michael Carker, and Bottle Copper "warranted Jan. 12, 1772, surveyed to Philip Jacob Michael, pioneer preacher and organizer of Reformed Churches." According to his will, Michael was a resident of Rockland Township on the 34 acres known in later times as "Michael's Hill." Dr. John Joseph Stoudt in his book, *Sunbonnets and Shoafly Pies*, prints a photograph of Michael's farm near Bowers.⁹



Hist. Soc. of Montgomery Co.

Taufschein of a child baptised by Michael

From this farm, Michael traveled in ever-widening circles as he ministered to vacant congregations of the Reformed faithful. The loom was left behind as he sought to spread the true and unaltered faith among his fellow countrymen.

Michael became known as an organizer of Reformed Congregations along the frontier of the Blue Mountains. But not all of his congregations were situated in these farthest reaches of settlement. He also served in the Oley Valley, at Goshenhoppen, and in Reading.

Hinke records 14 congregations served by Domine Michael. Through studying local congregational histories, I have added ten churches to this list. However, there may be additional ones of which I am not aware. A chronological listing of churches which he founded or served is as follows:

1. *Heidelberg Church*, near Saegersville, Heidelberg Township, Lehigh County, 1774. The following year along with his Lutheran colleague, Schertlein, Michael dedicated a new log church and stipulated in the agreement that the church building was to be and remain a union church.¹⁰

2. *Dunkel's Church*, Greenwich Township, Berks County, 1774.¹¹

3. On July 6, 1750, a similar agreement was drawn

up and signed at the dedication of *Ziegel Church*, Weisenberg Township, 3 miles west of Fogelsville, in Lehigh County, where he preached the first sermon and was the first Reformed pastor of the congregation.¹²

4. In the same year the newly built *Jacob's Church*, Jacksonville, Lynn Township, Lehigh County, was dedicated.¹³

5. In 1752 he began the first of three pastorates at *Longswamp*, where he succeeded Frederick Casimir Miller, as pastor.

6, 7. *St. John's* Kutztown, "the old Huguenot Church," was served by Michael from 1752 to 1759. According to John Baer Stoudt in his history of Maxatawny Church, printed in the *Centennial History of Kutztown*, "In 1752 he succeeded Rev. Frederick Casimir Miller at Longswamp and probably at the same time or soon thereafter also at *Maxatawny*. It was during Rev. Michael's pastorate, if the traditional date of 1775 is correct, that the first church was erected on a tract of five acres which Daniel Levan had set apart for church and school purposes."¹⁴

8, 9. In 1753 and 1754 Michael was at *Reading* where he recorded baptisms in the Trinity Lutheran Church record book. A Reformed church was not yet built. He is credited with being the founder of the Reformed Church of Reading.¹⁵ *Alsace Church*, which for many years was served by the same Reformed minister who served First Church, Reading, assumes that Philip Jacob Michael was one of their first pastors but they have no records prior to Philip Pauli's ministry which began in 1793.

10. In 1753 Domine Michael officiated at the dedication of a new union church which was erected at Molatton, Amity Township, Berks County. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg reports, "Our Lutherans, together with the Reformed people, have built three miles from the Swedish church, a union school and meeting-house, in which they are served by a Reformed self-taught man (autodidact)."¹⁶ This is the present day *St. Paul's Church, Athol*.

11. *DeLong's Church*, near Bowers, Berks County, "In 1759 the Maxatawny congregation suffered a division with the pastor and many of the congregation seceding and together with some of the Reformed settlers who had been worshipping with the Lutheran congregation on the Beaver Creek (Merz Church), went about two miles farther south along the Saucony Creek and not only erected a new church but on the title page of their congregation record styled themselves *The Maxatawny Reformed Congregations*. The new church was named after the donors of the land, Peter and Eva Elisabeth DeLangh. Michael served this congregation from 1759 to 1771. The following year, Coetus reports 'the congregation at Maxatawny, which was formerly served by Do. Michael, has been for quite a time without a minister.'¹⁷

12. *Ebenezer or Organ Church*, New Tripoli, Lynn Township, Lehigh County, bought land and erected a church in 1760. Michael dedicated the church in 1761 and served it until 1770.¹⁸

13. *Weissenberg Church*, five miles north of Fogelsville in Weissenberg Township, Lehigh County, was served by Michael from 1761 to 1775. He followed the Swiss Reformed minister, Kittweiler, as pastor at Weissenberg.¹⁹

14, 15, 16. About the same time, Michael was also serving in Northampton County the three congregations of *Indianland*, *Indian Creek*, and *Mooretownship*. According to a letter of Elder Simon Dreisbach sent to Domine J. H. Helffrich in January, 1773, he reported: "A minister was promised to us as soon as one should come in (from Holland.) Meanwhile the Rev. Mr. Leydich and the Rev. Mr. Michael were to supply us until a minister should come in. Each of these congregations gave 12 pounds to the said ministers to come to us on a week-day, every three weeks, for one year, which was done and our congregation got its share until several ministers came in."²⁰ As Casper Weyberg became pastor of these three congregations in 1762, it is apparent that Michael supplied them for only one year.

17, 18. In 1764 he was apparently appointed by Coetus to supply at Goshenhoppen which of course entailed two congregations — *New Goshenhoppen* at East Greenville and *Old Goshenhoppen* at Woxall. He followed Leydich as pastor and served until the new pastor arrived, the Rev. Jacob Riess, a shoemaker turned Reformed preacher, in May of 1765.²¹

In 1764 when Michael made his second attempt to be a regular ordained member of the Coetus, he was 48 years old and served 12 congregations. A brief scan indicates that he was not serving 12 of the preceding 18 churches in 1764. therefore, several other congregations must have been a part of this large parish in that year.

19. We know of him serving at *Oley* and neighboring congregations of Maxatawny; however, Salem Church at Spangsville, the old Oley Church, has no congregational records indicating who served them during the 40 years of Michael's ministry.²²

20. On February 25, 1766, *Michael's Church* was organized near Kauffman's Mill west of Hamburg in Bern Township, Berks County. Originally the congregation worshipped at the John Loeb farm. Three years later on August 6, 1769, Michael and his Lutheran counterpart Peter Mischler dedicated the newly erected Union Church, built of logs by members of the congregation at a cost of 15 to 20 pounds. The fact that the church has been known as "Die Liebe Michael's Kirche" for lo these many years is living testimony to the sort of minister Philip Jacob Michael turned out to be. It also suggests tht St. Michael's well may



Spire of the current St. Michael's Church, Tilden Township (formerly Bern Twp.)

have been one of the twelve congregations he was serving in 1764. His Lutheran colleague, Daniel Schumacher, was baptising "in Bern Township" children of parents who were members of Michael's Church when it was organized in 1766. These baptisms were recorded as early as 1755. Some were baptized at Smoke Church, 6 miles to the east, but many were baptized "in Bern Township." At a later time Schumacher identifies baptisms at the "new church at Kauffman's Mill," or "at Kauffman's Hill."²³ For some reason, the new church was not called Kauffman's or Schumacher's or Mischler's. It was called Michael's Church. Domine Michael served there until 1774 when he was succeeded by the mason-preacher Henry Hertzel, who felt he could build the Kingdom of God as well as houses.

21. *Lowhill Church*, Lehigh County. On September 3, 1769, the first church was dedicated by him and he served as pastor of this congregation from 1769 to 1772.²⁴

22. *Great Swamp*, Lehigh County. This congregation is mentioned by John Baer Stoudt as one of the congregations Michael supplied. He served here in 1766.²⁵

23. *Ziegel Church* (Zion, Windsor Castle), east of Shoemakersville, Berks County. John Baer Stoudt says Michael began at Zion's, in Perry Township, in 1771.²⁶ However, the congregational record says, "Philip Jacob Michael served our congregation from about 1759 to 1771." Hinke reports, "On June 12, 1774, he baptized seven children of Conrad Wirth; in connection with them it is stated 'All the above children were baptized here in the Ziegel's Church by the

Rev. Mr. Michael on the 12th of June in the presence of the whole congregation.'"²⁷

24. *Huff's Church*, Hereford Township, Berks County. In the year he died, 1786, Domine Michael performed ministerial acts in the Huff's Church. He is listed along with his Lutheran colleagues, J. F. Schertlein and Daniel Lehman, as ministering in this congregation prior to the building of their first church in 1815.²⁸



Huff's Church, present-day structure

Far from being an ecclesiastical vagabond, Michael faithfully served his scattered congregations. John Baer Stoudt writes, "He was a weaver by trade and, having had some educational advantages he was prevailed upon by the settlers to teach their children and to instruct them in the Catechism. At the request of the people he began to read sermons. He is said to have had a pleasing personality and considerable ability as a preacher. In order that children might be baptized, the young confirmed, the holy communion observed and marriages solemnized, he assumed the prerogatives of a regularly ordained minister of the Gospel. Which was done no doubt at the desire and earnest request of the settlers."²⁹

His Church Order, written for the many congregations he served, compares favorably with that of John Philip Boehm. The main difference between the two Orders is the insistence on the rights of the respective denominations being guaranteed and the need for them "ever to remain a union church." (A copy of Michael's Church Order is appended.)

The minutes of the Coetus of the Reformed Ministers of Pennsylvania have an interesting tale to tell of the worthy Reformed church founder and pastor. In 1764 Domine Michael appeared before the Coetus and asked for ordination and admission as a member. The minutes state:

"Philip Jacob Michael appeared with an earnest petition that he might be admitted as a member of the Coetus. His credentials from far and near show that, according to the rules of our Reformed Church, he

has been faithful in doctrine, life, and conduct for fourteen years (1750-1764) and constantly served the same congregations in Maxatawny, and, therefore, he does not deserve the name of an adventurer or Moravian. He showed that twelve years ago Mr. Schlatter would not recognize or admit him because of unfounded reasons. Wherefore he would not apply again, although he labored continually in harmony with us. We can state all this the more readily because all his congregations are well known to us and we know that he has unweariedly aimed for this end, and even now, in his 48th year, he supplies with the greatest zeal twelve congregations. This earnest request and petition we could not refuse. But since he has not been ordained, according to the order of our Church, we herewith request permission and proper authority from the Reverent Synods to ordain him. And as several of our number have heard him preach, and in his ministrations all is clearly in accordance with the Reformed church-order in doctrine and life, we expect that our request will not be in vain, so that we may thus be strengthened, by bringing under our control the congregations which he is serving, and comply with his reasonable request. We would not put our pen to this were we not convinced that it would be of advantage to us, and of greater profit to his congregations. We expect at the earliest opportunity a favorable reply from the Reverend Synods."

In spite of this earnest plea the Holland Church Fathers refused to consent to his ordination in Pennsylvania, but demanded that he should come to Holland. That was of course impossible. Hence he did not press his request. The minutes of 1765 state: "We shall leave Mr. Michael to himself, and say nothing further about him, because the Reverend Fathers seem much disinclined to grant our request, and he being aged does not press his case, and his congregations are satisfied with him without ordination."³⁰

Like his successor Henry Hertzell and his Lutheran colleagues, F. J. Schertlein, Peter Mischler, and Daniel Schumacher, Michael was never accepted as a regular minister of the Coetus. He labored all of his days under the cloud. Yet, obviously, he worked with the full approval of the members of the Coetus who recognized him as a worthy and able fellow minister of God's word. Michael's service did not confine itself to the frontier congregations. John Baer Stoudt says, "He not only organized congregations and built churches, but drew up constitutions, regulations, agreements, where the churches were union and endeavored to establish schools. His efforts were Herculean and his results far-reaching."³¹

And in truth were it not for men like Michael and his independent colleagues the church along the frontier would have not been founded nor served. The members of the Coetus were always too few to serve the

many scattered vacant congregations. Michael helped to fill that gap.

"During the Indian uprisings he had many narrow escapes as he rode through the forests from one congregation to another. He was an ardent patriot and frequently from the pulpit presented the cause of Independence."³²

Daniel Miller in his *History of the Reformed Church in Reading, Pa.* says of the founder of Reading's Church: "When the War of the Revolution broke out, he resigned his charge in 1774 and entered the army."³³ It is true that he resigned several of his churches in 1774, but this writer could find no evidence of Philip Jacob Michael in the service prior to May 17, 1777, when the Berks Militia was sworn. On that date he was appointed chaplain of the First Battalion of the Berks County Militia under Colonel Daniel Hunter.³⁴ (Hunter's German name was Jager or Jäger. He died a relatively young man in 1783 in the 41st year of his age. Daniel Jager is buried in the Reformed Cemetery of Spangville in the Oley Valley. His sister Catherine was the wife of Col. Balser Geehr, originally from the Oley Valley, later to move to Bern Township, and finally to become a neighbor of Michael in Longswamp Township.³⁵)

Chaplain Michael's service in the Militia was apparently more than the part-time 30 or 60 day enlistment of so many militiamen. *The Pennsylvania Archives* lists the First Battalion, Berks County, Militia, as the only one with a chaplain in the several yearly reports that were published of the officers. He was apparently serving on active duty until January, 1781, when he began his third period of ministry at Longswamp. No record of pastoral acts have come to light by Domine Michael during the period 1777 to 1781.

Oley Furnace was managed by Daniel Udree, initially financed by investment money from Old First Reformed Church, Philadelphia.



Colonel Hunter's Battalion was made up of men from the eastern section of the county — from the townships of Hereford, Colebrookdale, Ruscombmanor, District, and Oley. Colonel Daniel Udree, also of Oley, commanded the Northeastern Section. His men came from Longswamp, Rockland, Richmond, Maxatawny, and Maiden creek — all of these from the area where Michael lived, and ministered. Daniel Udree was a neighbor of Michael, owning several rather large portions of Longswamp Township. Like Colonel Hunter, Daniel Udree is buried in the Reformed Cemetery near Spangville.³⁶

Many of the officers of the Berks County Militia were either Reformed or connected to Union Churches served by Chaplain Michael. Following European traditions, the officers of the Berks County Militia were chosen from the more prominent people of their day. Among these officers were ironmongers, merchants, mill owners, and large plantation owners. Indeed some of them, like the Commander-in-chief General George Washington, owned thousands of acres. The aforementioned Daniel Udree, Colonel of the Second Battalion in 1777, not only owned the Oley Furnace and the Rockland Forges with much land in the Oley Valley area, but also his land included extensive acreage in Maxatawny, Rockland, and Longswamp townships — with one connected tract embracing 2700 acres.³⁷

In scanning the list of officers of the six Berks County Battalions in 1777, all but the western battalion in the Tulpehocken-Heidelberg area had as officers those who would have had occasion to know Michael as Pastor or as Reformed preacher-patriot. And, if our suspicions are correct, probably the commander of the Sixth Battalion, Colonel Henry Spyker of Tulpehocken, was Reformed.

Colonel Balzer Geehr married Catherine, sister of Daniel Hunter, and moved from Oley to Bern Township, near the Blue Mountain (hence near the Michael's Church). After the war, Col. Geehr sold his acreage near the Blue Mountain and moved to Longswamp Township where he was a close neighbor to Michael.³⁸



Gravestone of Jacob Shartel (Scherdel) in St. Michael's Union Cemetery.

Colonel Michael Lindemuth of the Third Battalion was a Lutheran Trustee and Elder of "Die Liebe Michael's Kirche." In his battalion were many members of St. Michael's and of Zion's Church, Windsor Castle, which Domine Michael served just prior to the outbreak of hostilities. Officers of the Third Battalion who were members of Michael's or Zion's churches include Jacob Schartel, George and Christian Albrecht (Albright), Adam Klauser, John Knevel, Henry Kalbach, Jacob Schadle, Eberhard and Jacob Shappell, George Reber, George Hower, Daniel Will, Abraham Luckenbill, Peter Focht, Michael Smith, and George Adam.



Nicholas Lotz, Commander of the Fourth Battalion

The Fourth Battalion, Colonel Nicholas Lotz, commander, contained many men from First Church in Reading. Among these officers were the future Pennsylvania governor, Joseph Hiester, and his cousin, Gabriel Hiester, George and Peter Nagel, Jacob Bower, Daniel Rose, and Henry Haller.



New Englanders knew him as Peter Noggle.

In Daniel Hunter's battalion were John Guldin of Oley, the grandson of the Reformed pietist, the Rev. Samuel Guldin, John Cunius, Philip Bertolet, Daniel Leinbach, Daniel Schneider, John Stapleton, Daniel Levan, and Jacob Griesemer. (Griesemer's initials J.G. are on the old weather vane that once adorned the Spangsville Church.) These men are connected with the Spangsville Church.

The 5th Battalion - Southern Section was commanded by Jacob Weaver who had no relationship to the Amity Township Church but several officers from the 5th Company of the 5th Battalion were related to St. Paul's, Athol. These men were Lt. Col. Mathias Rhoads and captain Jacob Rhoads, Joseph Sands, Daniel Ludwig, and John Swineheart.

At the Provincial Conference held in Carpenter's Hall at Philadelphia from June 18 to June 25, 1776, deputies from Berks County included the following members of the Reformed Church: Colonel Henry Haller, Col. Daniel Hunter, Col. Nicholas Lotz, and Captain Joseph Hiester. The Conference determined that a Convention should be called for the purpose of forming a new government in this Province on the authority of the people only, fixed the qualifications of associators and of the members of the Convention and asked each county to send eight delegates.³⁹

Of the officers chosen for the several battalions of the Associators of Berks County for the year 1775-76 (the earliest military record of this county), the following men would have been connected with Michael: Lieut.-Col. Henry Haller, Maj. Gabriel Hiester, Lieut.-Col. Nicholas Lotz, Lieut.-Col. Balser Geehr, Maj. Michael Lindemuth, and Lieut.-Col. Daniel Hunter.⁴⁰

Recruitment in Reading was instituted by Elder Joseph Hiester with his \$40.00 on the drumhead approach. At 23, the young storekeeper in ten days enrolled ninety-six men. He then raised a whole regiment. Refusing the rank of colonel, he used his influence to have Henry Haller elected colonel and he accepted the position of captain. His regiment fought on Long Island with Washington and was defeated and many of them taken prisoner. Hiester was a prisoner on board the ship "Jersey." He was exchanged in December, 1776, and returned to Reading. He soon recruited 650 men and marched with them to Washington's side.⁴¹

Reading served as a quartermaster's supply depot. Here hay and straw, grain, blankets, munitions, and uniforms were stored and dispersed to areas of need. Many of those who were connected with this aspect of the war were associated with Chaplain Michael, i.e., Henry Haller, Nicholas Lotz, and Michael Lindemuth.

The War of 1812, with the destruction of the records when the British burned Washington, D.C., was a great loss to the historian. The military war records of the Berks County Militia went up in smoke. From what

we can piece together, the First Battalion, in which Michael served, was a participant at Chester and hence at Brandywine, Germantown, Whitemarsh, etc. Apparently Michael accompanied them in their agony of defeat.⁴²



Dan Udree

Daniel Udree, confirmed in Old First Church, Phila., in 1768, became Brigadier General by 1778.

"In a 'Return of the Militia belonging to the State of Pennsylvania, September 6, 1777, in the Continental Service,' there appear two battalions from Berks County. They were commanded by Col. Daniel Hunter and Col. Daniel Udree. The former was in Potter's Brigade, and the latter in Irvine's Brigade." A list of the officers of Hunter's and Udree's battalions indicates only one chaplain, and he belonged in Hunter's company (Michael).⁴³

From everything we have read in the *Pennsylvania Archives* and other sources, we cannot ascertain any other chaplain from Berks County who served during the war. Several other Berks County clergymen are mentioned as "occasional chaplains" who apparently preached to the troops when they were in the area. However, Michael was apparently the only chaplain to be on salary and receive the \$33⅓ which was the pay authorized by Congress in October, 1776. His salary was lower than that of a captain, regimental quartermaster, or adjutant, who were paid \$40; but it was higher than a first or second lieutenant's at \$27. The surgeons were paid \$33.⁴⁴

Michael resumed his ministry at Longswamp in January, 1781. Here he served until age and its accompanying weaknesses and disability forced him to resign in 1785. The following year, May 6, 1786, he made out his will which was probated in Reading June 17, 1786. "He died on the farm at Michael's Hill near Bowers Station and was buried by the Rev. Henry Hertzell at the Longswamp Church. No headstone

marks his grave, nor do any of the many congregations which he founded or served contain any memorial to this faithful servant of the Lord, who deserved to be numbered among the founders of the Reformed Church in the United States.”⁴⁵

A copy of Philip Jacob Michael’s very interesting last will and testament is printed in William J. Hinke’s *History of the Goshenhoppen Reformed Charge*.

This is Chaplain Philip Jacob Michael. With John Baer Stoudt, I would concur in his estimation of Michael’s contribution to the founding of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania. Certainly he provided real leadership in the American War for Independence among his fellow Pennsylvania Germans. The list of officers who obviously must have known him as pastor, founding father, and organizer is more than coincidental. The Coetus was probably correct when they declared, “His credentials from far and near show that according to the rules of our Reformed Church, he has been faithful in doctrine, life, and conduct for fourteen years (1750-1764) and constantly served the same congregations in Maxatawny, and therefore, he does not deserve the name of (Landloper) adventurer or Moravian.”

Hinke’s opening sentence is a good way to finish this paper. “Philip Jacob Michael was one of the best of the Independent Reformed ministers. He was the founder of and preacher in numerous Reformed congregations and served them with great fidelity for more than forty years.”⁴⁶

Copy of English Translation of The Church Order for the Newly Erected Union Church In Bern Township, Berks County, August 6, AD 1769

(Translated by “JWE” whom we assume is the noted Lutheran historian, J.W. Early, D.D. Words in parentheses are by the translator.)

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY TRINITY, AMEN.

May it please the Christian Congregation of (in) this present newly built Church to give ear, item by item, to this treatise, which they have entrusted and committed to me, Philip Jacob Michael, as the Evangelical Reformed minister, for the behalf of the Evangelical Reformed and the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, (setting forth) how affairs are to be conducted in this Michael’s Church in Bern Township, Berks County, viz.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, and it has been (by) His will and counsel that we have been made willing, and it hath been resolved by both denominations that beginning with the 11th (Sunday) after Trinity, being the 6th day of August, 1769, we would for the first time unite in worship, calling upon His Holy Name, with this end in view, we i.e., those of the Evangelical Reformed faith as well as those of the Evangelical Lutheran faith, have met together to

arrange things in proper order, so that the Gospel may be taught and preached.



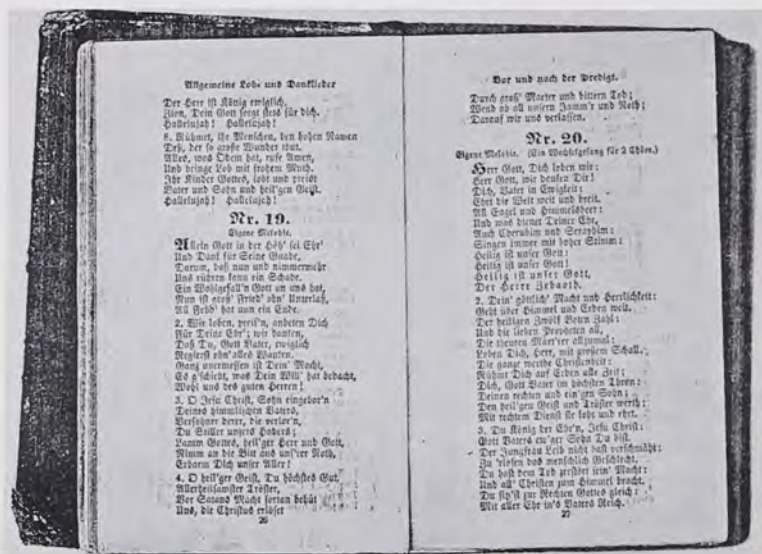
The Union Church of the Pennsylvania Germans was a self-contained community.

I. This Michael’s Church in Bern Township, Berks County, shall be and shall remain a (union church) for the use of those confessing the Evangelical Lutheran faith as well as those confessing the Evangelical Reformed faith, and for all men, Jews and Gentiles. Each of these two denominations above named may call a preacher or pastor for itself according as Elders and Deacons together with a majority of the votes may decide.

II. Our Michael’s Church services begin with the ceremony of a procession, from without, (consisting) of the members of both the Congregations mentioned above, together with all good Christian people in attendance, the young people present, young men and maidens, sons and daughters, men servants and maid servants, as well as strangers singing “Allein Gott in der Hoch Sei Ehr” (“All Glory Be to God on High”) at 9 A.M., August 6, 1769.



“All Glory Be to God on High” from the German Reformed Notengesangbuch



*"Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr"
in the church members' hymnal.*

III. At the opening of the service, the singing having begun and ended, the Sermon of Dedication and Consecration shall be preached by Philip Jacob Michael, the Evangelical Reformed pastor to which (duty) he has been appointed by both denominations. Secondly, after he has descended from the pulpit, Peter Mishler, as the Evangelical Lutheran pastor, shall preach a dedicatory or consecratory sermon, but he is not to pronounce the benediction until afterwards when the ceremonies with the children at the church table (altar, we presume) shall have been completed by the Rev. Philip Jacob Michael. (Possibly baptism or confirmations, or both. — J.W.E.)

IV. It shall be the rule among us of both confessions to call a minister as the pastor to which each one has given his vote or assent, the majority agreeing, the Evangelical Reformed as well as the Evangelical Lutheran, so that everything may be done in a harmonious and order of manner.

V. It shall be the rule that no pastor, either Evangelical Lutheran or Evangelical Reformed, shall be accepted without the mutual approval of the deacons, as well as a majority of the members of BOTH congregations, whether he be educated or uneducated, and who cannot produce testimonials of good conduct or a proper call both human and divine, and that he will seek to preserve and promote peace between both.

VI. Whenever the service of God by calling upon His most Holy Name is to be conducted (held), neither of the two denominations shall act in opposition to the other. The services shall be conducted alternately, the Evangelical Lutheran pastor holding his services either in the forenoon or in the afternoon, once each week, or once in two weeks, or once in three or four weeks alternately, as may be stipulated when the pastor

is called, neither interfering with the other in his day, so that peace and order may be maintained in this Michael's Church.

VII. Be it resolved and made the rule in this church that each congregation, the Evangelical Lutheran as well as the Evangelical Reformed, shall make a settlement each year, in the presence of the body of the members, with the elders and deacons of both congregations, concerning the alms collections, so that they shall be applied mutually for the building purposes and the support of the poor.

VIII. It is resolved and made the rule in this Union Church that each year the salary or pay of both the accepted pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran as well as the Evangelical Reformed shall be made up by the members of both congregations, by means of voluntary contributions, according to their several ability.

IX. It is to be the rule in the calling of the pastors, both of the Evangelical Lutheran and the Evangelical Reformed denomination, that if either the one or the other congregation should be without a pastor for a considerable time, both congregations shall unitedly support the pastor actually in charge, whether (it be) the Evangelical Lutheran or the Evangelical Reformed, during the year, contributing whatever each one is willing to give freely (out of love), he (the pastor) making no charges for the administration of the Sacrament, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, excepting that if the Evangelical Lutheran or the Evangelical Reformed had no pastor for a whole year, and still desired to partake of the Lord's Supper twice during the year the two congregations will freely (out of love) make a contribution to reimburse the pastor thus called the amount of his traveling expenses.

X. The elders chosen by both congregations, the



Cemetery gate opposite main entrance to St. Michael's church.

Evangelical Lutheran and the Evangelical Reformed, were Phillip Faust, John Schock, Michael Lindenmuth, John Clauser, these chosen by both of us preachers together with the members of both congregations. At the time of the dedication of this Michael's Union Church, Bern Township, Berks County, these, viz. Jacob Schneider and Jacob Wagner, were chosen. These now all remain in office in this Michael's Church representing both confessions.

XI. Should the pastor or elder or a deacon or any member of the congregations be guilty of open sin the elders and deacons of that congregation and a majority of the members, being convinced of the fact of this transgression and the unchristian conduct, they shall enter into an investigation and trial. Should they be convinced of his guilt, he is to be admonished in Christian love to cease therefrom, not repeating the offense being the best evidence of repentance, and striving to lead a Godly life and conduct in the future, so that no occasion for offense be given. Matt. 18:15, 17.

XII. Inasmuch as the tract of land upon which this Michael's Church is erected was donated to the two congregations, the Evangelical Lutheran and the Evangelical Reformed, by Joseph Zollenberger, and inasmuch as it might occur ere long that it should become our duty to ourselves and to our children to build a schoolhouse, to the honor and the glory of God and for their happiness and salvation, this too shall be Union (Common or Mutual) even as the church is, and it shall be carried on for the honor and glory of God, the Father, the one party, the Evangelical Lutheran as well as the Evangelical Reformed, not hindering or opposing the other, contributing thereto freely (out of love).

XIII. Should the congregations find it desirable in the near future to make provisions for the training of their children to employ a school teacher, he shall be required to present testimonials from the congregation in which he was last employed as to his moral character. Should he be an Evangelical Lutheran or an Evangelical Reformed school master, he shall instruct all children without respect to their religious convictions or their denominations, as well as the children of outsiders, according to their denominational belief, in their respective Catechisms, according to the best of his ability.

XIV. Finally, it is made the rule among us, the subscribers, that this constitution (regulation) shall be read publicly once a year on the 11th Sunday after Trinity, or if there be no public service on that day, either on the Sunday preceding or the Sunday succeeding that one, by the minister holding services on that day. To this end may Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant us grace and strength, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit, now and ever more. Amen.

Bern Township, August 6, 1769 Elders and Deacons of this Congregation

Philip X Faust	John X Clauser
John Schock	Jacob Schneider
Michael Lindenmuth	Jacob Wagner
Peter Lehr X mark	

Ministers of this Congregation
(L.F.) Philip Jacob Michael
Evangel. Reformed Pastor
(L.F.) Peter Mischler
Evangelical Lutheran Pastor

MEMBERS OF THE TWO CONGREGATIONS

Bernard X Schneider
Jacob Kauffmann

George Schock	Michael Lindenmuth, Senior
John Schneider	Frederick Gotschall
Anthony Dillman	Christian Weber
John Geschwindt	John Jacob Haussknecht
Christopher Wagner	Henry Kalbach
Peter Schamar	Nicholas X Moyer
John X Stern	Conrad Henne
Simon X Clauser	George William Wagner
Ludwig Seaman	George Haener
Philip X Adam Clauser	Jacob Reichart
Michael Rentschler	William Weber
John Wolf Lindenmuth	John Mall
Jacob Schock	George Gramlich
Herman Tossinger	
Frederick Lang	
Peter Zollenberger	
Conrad Stein	
(Schoolmaster)	
Kilian May	

APPENDIX MEMBERS OF THE MILITIA FROM ST. MICHAEL'S UNION CHURCH

Captain Jacob Schartel commanded the St. Michael's church militia company. All of his fellow officers were members of the congregation as were most of the privates. A Reformed elder and trustee, Schartel was a blacksmith, innkeeper and farmer.

He married the former Elizabeth Claass 20 March 1764. Officiating at their marriage was the Reverend Philip Jacob Michael. At the time of their marriage, she was a resident of Richmond Township, Berks County; her father, Johannes Claass, lived a mere quarter mile from Molltown. The Claass (Claus) Family were members at historic Becker's Church

which for many years was served by the same minister as Maxatawny (St. John's Kutztown). Parre Michael may well have served this church in those circumstances, which would tally as the 26th he did serve; for though he noted he was serving twelve churches when he applied to Coetus in 1764, he failed to name them. Becker's Church would have fit the description.

Schartel served in the Long Island Campaign and at Princeton. He was wounded several times and captured by the British; he was part of a prisoner exchange. Later at the battle of Muncy Creek a musket ball went through his left ear, leaving him dizzy for some time. Beginning in 1793 until his death in 1819, Jacob Schartel received a Revolutionary War pension of \$120.00 annually. Jacob and Elizabeth Schartel are buried in the Old St. Michael's Cemetery, not far from the site of the original log parochial school-church building.

CAPTAIN JACOB SCHARTEL'S COMPANY

Christian Albright (Court Martial Man), Daniel Albright, 1st Lt. George Albright, Jacob Albright (Albrecht)
Anthony Foust
Conrad Henne



Henne and the Kaufmanns served in the Militia Company exclusively drawn from St. Michael's membership.



Jacob Kauffman, Isaac Kauffman, John Kauffman, Philip Kauffman, Valentine Kauffman,
2nd Lt. George Kauffman
Ensign Adam Klausser (Clauser) (also known as Philip Adam Klausser)
Court Martial Man John Knevel
Jacob Long
John Marshall
Killian May (Reformed elder and second schoolmaster), Quartermaster George May
Jacob Meyer, Peter Meyer (Moyer?)
Nicholas Moyer, John Moyer, Fred Moyer (Meyer?)
Matthias Naftzinger
John Reichart
Matthias Roth, Williams Roth
Jacob Schumacher, Christian Schumacher, John Schumacher
Godleib Seaman
George Tobias, Jacob Tobias, John Tobias, Peter Tobias
John Tomlinson, Thomas Tomlinson, James Tomlinson
George Wagner, Jacob Wagner
Benjamin Wright
Henry Yoder, Jacob Yoder, Yost Yoder
John Yorger
Christian Yuce, Jacob Yuce
John Zechman

ST. MICHAEL'S MEN IN COMPANIES OTHER THAN SCHARTEL'S

Adam Albrecht (Albright)
John Clauser (Klausser)
Court Martial Man Peter Focht
Henry Foust, Jacob Foust, Philip Foust, Jr.
Frederick Godshal, Christopher Godshal, Leonard Godshal
Jacob Hausknecht, Daniel Hausknecht
George Henne
Jacob Kalbach, Adam Kalbach, 2nd Lt. Henry Kalbach
Christian Kauffman, Frederick Kauffman, Henry Kauffman
John Lindenmuth, Sr., Michael Lindenmuth, Sr., Drummer Boys Michael Lindenmuth and John Jacob Lindenmuth
George Loeb, John Loeb
Valentine Long
Ensign Abraham Luckenbill
Andrew Machmer, William Machmer (Machemer)
Andrew May, Lt. Co. George May, William May
Jacob Mayer, Capt. Will's Company
Frederick Meyer, George Meyer, John Meyer
Jacob Nunnemacher
Henry Rausch

Peter Schamar
 Christian Schmick
 John Schneider
 John Schock
 Christian Schwartz
 Christian Weber
 Philip Wentzel
 Henry Zechman

POSTSCRIPT

I wish to thank the following who helped in the research for this paper:

Dr. John C. Shetler under whose inspired leadership the 250th Anniversary of the First German Reformed Communion has been celebrated.

My good friends, the Rev. Dr. John Joseph Stoudt, historian, educator and churchman, who pointed me to resources that were hidden; and Dr. William Parsons, Ursinus College, who has steered me into thinking of the militia companies as neighborhood groupings of men.

My colleagues in the ministry who checked rolls of early church members against the lists of officers in the Militia: the Rev. Norman W. Shollenberger, pastor of Salem Reformed Church, Spangsville, and the Rev. William A. Harner, Jr., pastor of St. Paul's Church, Athol.

Mrs. William Dreibelbis of Zion's Church, Windsor Castle.

My wife who helped me with the research and who typed this paper.

There is still research to be done. Faulty congregational records caused by fires and other calamities have meant that many areas of fruitful research are denied the earnest historian. If we could only delve into the background of Michael's wife Sarah Webb, an additional chapter on the relationship of Michael to the men of the Militia might yet be forthcoming.

Endnotes

1. William J. Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania . . . in the 18th Century* (Lancaster: Historical Society of Evangelical & Reformed Church, 1951), p. 342.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 404. Spangenberg was apparently ordained in 1785, the year before Pastor Michael died. Spangenberg was subsequently hanged at Bedford, Pennsylvania, on Saturday, October 10, 1795, between ten o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon, for the murder of Elder Jacob Glessner.

3. Henry Harbaugh, *Fathers of the Reformed Church* (Lancaster: Sprenger & Westhaeffer, 1872), p. 329.

4. Hinke, *Ministers*, p. 404.

5. Harbaugh, *Fathers*, II, pp. 329, 330. Harbaugh was misinformed; Philip Michael died at home. -DR

6. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 242-243.

7. Daniel Schumacher, *Baptismal Register* (Allentown: Penn-

sylvania German Society, 1968), New series, v. I, p. 204. Translation by Frederick S. Weiser.

8. Hinke, *Ministers*, p. 342.

9. William J. Hinke, *A History of the Goshenhoppen Reformed Charge* (Lancaster: Pennsylvania German Society, 1920) original series, v. 27, pp. 203-205; I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Berks and Lebanon Counties* (Lancaster: Rupp, 1844), p. 244; Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County* (Reading: Charles Haage, 1886), p. 1007. In the lists of taxables which Rupp and Montgomery republished, Jacob Mickle appears in the list for Ruscombmanor Township for 1749; the taxables for 1759 include Jacob Michael who is worth £6.0.0, while Exeter Township taxes for that year were rated on £20 for John Webb, £2.0.0, for Joseph Webb and James Webb was taxed as "single man."

10. Zion Church, Windsor Castle, PENNA, near Hamburg, PA. Those records show that PHILLIP JACOB MICHAEL and his wife Elizabeth Catherine served as sponsors at the baptism of PHILIP JACOB, son of George Hauer and wife Eva Elizabeth, born in 1774. George Hauer served as officer in Jacob Shappell's Berks County Militia Company. Three baptisms are listed in the Zion Church, Windsor Township Church records:

To PHILIP MICHAEL [JR.] and wife ELIZABETH CATHERINE:

1. Philip Jacob, born 1776, sponsors: David Ludwig and wife.

2. Maria Elizabeth, born 1779, sponsors: Stophel Hoefle and Dorothea Hauer.

3. Johannes Philip, born 1781, sponsors: John Kreiz and Dorothea. It seems logical to assume that the younger Philip Michael's wife was Elizabeth Catherine Hauer, most likely a sister to George and Dorothea. -DR

11. Hinke, *Goshenhoppen*, p. 42; I. M. Beaver, *Map of Longswamp and Rockland Townships* (1783), reprint, Berks County Historical Society. Beaver has written one of the finest tributes to the country pastor: Reverend Philip Jacob Michael [sic] was born in the fatherland in 1716 and came to Pennsylvania 14 October, 1731. He died in 1786 on his farm near Bowers Station, Berks County and was buried at the Longswamp Church. No headstone marks his grave. He was a weaver by trade. Having had some educational advantages, he was prevailed upon by the settlers to teach their children and to instruct them in the catechism. At the request of the people, he began to read sermons and developed a considerable ability as a preacher. He was not an ordained minister. He was prevailed upon to baptize the children, to confirm the young, administer the holy communion, to solemnize marriage. He assumed the prerogatives of a regular ordained minister. He desired to become ordained and appeared in 1764 with an earnest petition that he might be admitted as a member of the Coetus. The matter was referred to the Reverend Synod of Holland. To this earnest plea the authorities replied by requesting Reverend Michael to come to Holland for ordination. This being impractical, he continued his labors without ordination. The following are some of his activities as minister of the gospel. He was first pastor and in some cases the organizer of a number of Reformed congregations in Northern Berks and Lehigh Counties. Among them, Dunkels 1744; Heidelberg 1745; Ziegels 1750; Saint Jacobs 1750; Reading 1752; DeLongs 1759; Ebenezer 1760; Zion's, Perry Township, 1771. Besides these he served as pastor at Oley, Longswamp, Maxatawny and neighboring congregations. In 1752 he was pastor at Longswamp and soon thereafter at Maxatawny. Tradition dates the first church there as 1755. On May 17, 1777, Pastor Michael was appointed chaplain of the first battalion of Berks County Militia. He deserved to be numbered among the founders of the Reformed Church in the United States.

12. Hinke, *Ministers*, p. 342.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

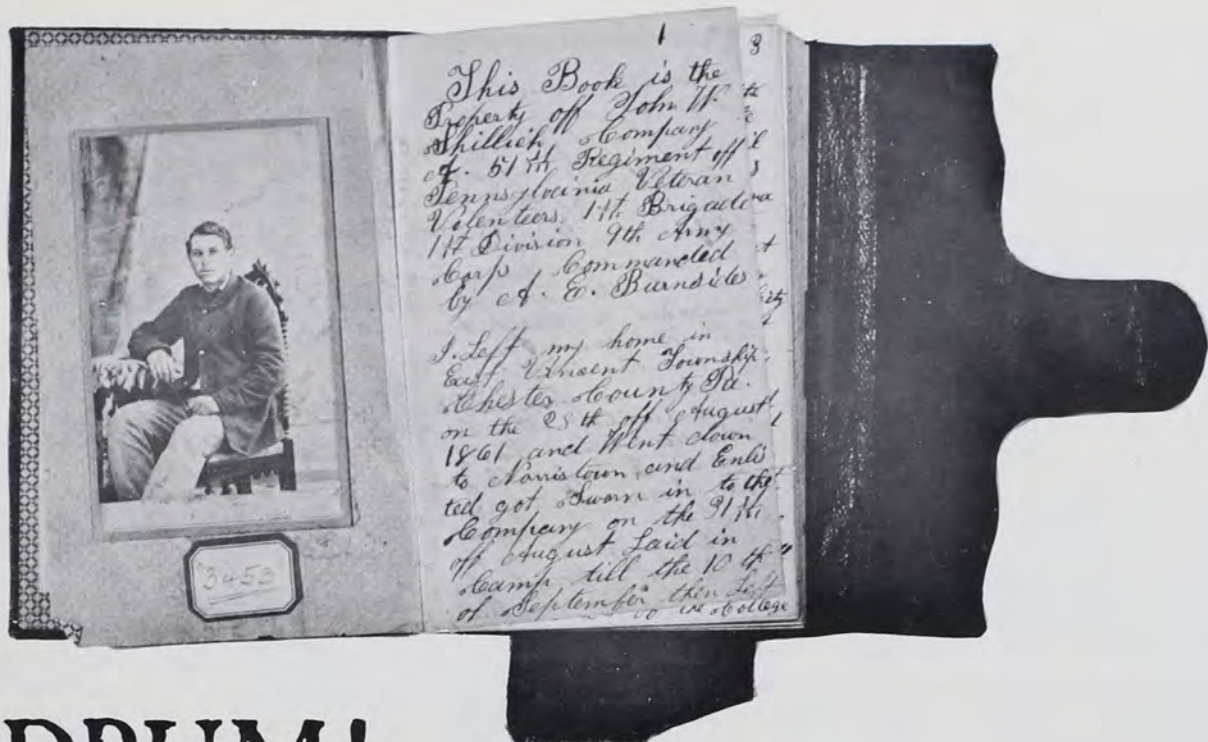
14. *Ibid.*, John Baer Stoudt, "History of Maxatawny Church," in *Centennial History of Kutztown* (Kutztown: Patriot Press, 1915), p. 78.

15. Daniel Miller, *History of the Reformed Church in Reading, Pa.* (Reading: Daniel Miller, 1908), pp. 12-16.
16. Hinke, *Ministers*, p. 343.
17. Stoudt, *Maxatawny Church*, pp. 78-79.
18. Hinke, *Ministers*, p. 344.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.* It is possible that the Leydich-Michael circuit also included the Stone Church, Kreidersville along with Indianland, Indian Creek and Moore Township. If so, that would constitute the twenty-five church served by Parre Michael in his long and far-flung career. See also John Baer Stoudt, "Colonial Correspondence," *The Reformed Church Review*, v. 18 #2 (April, 1914), p. 210. Letter of Simon Dreisbach gives detail.
21. Hinke, *Goshenhoppen*, p. 205. Additionally, John Joseph Stoudt has rediscovered the record of the naturalization of Philip Jacob Michael before the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania on 30 September 1765. He had partaken of the sacrament just a week before. Michael was then a resident of Rockland Township, Berks County.
22. Beaver, *Map of Longswamp Township*.
23. Schumacher, *Baptismal Record*, p. 194.
24. Hinke, *Goshenhoppen*, p. 202.
25. Stoudt, *Maxatawny Church*, p. 79.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Hinke, *Ministers*, p. 345.
28. *Historical Souvenir of the Huff's Union Church*, p. 5.
29. Stoudt, *Maxatawny Church*, p. 78.
30. Hinke, *Goshenhoppen*, pp. 200-201.
31. Stoudt, *Maxatawny Church*, p. 79.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Miller, *Reformed Church, Reading*, p. 15.
34. *Ibid.*; H. M. J. Klein, *The History of the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States* (Lancaster: Eastern Synod, 1943), p. 69.
35. Morton L. Montgomery, *History of Berks County . . . in the Revolution, 1774-1783* Revised facsimile edition, (Reading: Berks County, Daughters of American Revolution, 1975), pp. 235-236; P. C. Croll, *Annals of the Oley Valley* (Reading: Reading Eagle Press, 1926), pp. 97-103.
36. Montgomery, *Berks County . . . in the Revolution*, pp. 277-280; Croll, *Oley Valley*, pp. 105-109.
37. Croll, *Oley Valley*, p. 106.
38. Montgomery, *Berks County . . . in the Revolution*, pp. 277-280. Geehr bought 155 acres of land from Benjamin Kepner, who kept the mill at Bern Station. Like others of his time, however, Geehr had multiple holdings; they counted land as value. Thus he held three hundred fifty acres additionally near the Blue Mountain farm. Yet in 1786 he removed once again, this time to a site on his own land just seven miles north Kutztown.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
41. Miller, *Reformed Church, Reading*, pp. 172-173.
42. Montgomery, *Berks County . . . in the Revolution*, p. 121.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
45. Stoudt, *Maxatawny Church*, p. 79.
46. Hinke, *Ministers*, p. 342.

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DRUM!

DRUM!

DRUM!

By PHYLLIS VIBBARD PARSONS



The majority of the participants in the Civil War were "every day" people, who, for any one of a number of reasons, found themselves in a completely unfamiliar situation. There are many attics which house letters and diaries written by great grandfather during some part of his experiences in this War between the States. This is just such a diary, except the family donated it along with some artifacts to the Historical Society of Montgomery County in Norristown.

John Shillich joined Company A, 51st Regiment of Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers on August 31, 1861, at the age of 18. He served just short of four years for he was discharged August 1, 1865. His home was in East Vincent township, Chester County.

For any young man not yet out of his teens, volunteering changed many things. If he was a farm boy, as Shillich was, he travelled and saw many different ways of life and as many different types of farming.

Men of all ages and backgrounds met, trained and lived together under very difficult circumstances. There were battles and skirmishes to be fought and endured. Orders had to be carried out even if the body and spirit rebelled. Marches seemed to lead nowhere interspersed with the everlasting waiting and the rain, and mud, always mud.

A drummer was a little different from the rest of the soldiers and therefore not quite one of them. He endured the same conditions but his rising time was earlier in order to drum the others awake. A drummer did not carry nor fire a gun, as a general rule. He did not do guard duty on a regular basis. He was on call for odd jobs: distributing meat, part-time first aid; perhaps what is now commonly called a "go-fer."

John Shillich was a drummer. He carried no rifle, his drum was his weapon. As far as we know, he never fired a rifle in battle. The drum was the heart and the

soul of the unit.¹ If the men were weary, it was the drum that kept their feet going, always keeping the cadence. It called them into battle; it signalled retreat. It was the announcer of joyous news; it was the sound of despair. It welcomed new commanders; marshaled parades and was the hollow sound as the dishonorable soldier was banished; drummed out of the army.

When the battle began, the drummer drummed the company into combat, and signalled changes in strategy. He was not in the center of the fighting but Shilich was close enough to be wounded three times and captured once. To the drummer his drum was as important as the flag was to the flag-bearer. It was a rallying point for the unit. Only death or other dire circumstances would part them.

The 51st Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers and Veteran Volunteers was organized and mustered into the service of the United States at Camp Curtin, Harrisburg, Pa. on September 28, 1861 with its first commander Colonel John F. Hartranft. Five of the ten companies were recruited principally from Montgomery County: A, C, D, F and I. These comprised the right wing of the regiment.²

Some of the complement of these county companies were veterans of a 90 day unit, the Pennsylvania 4th Regiment. After nearly three months of seeing no battles and not one Confederate soldier, they asked General Irwin McDowell, commander of the Potomac, if there was really any reason to re-enlist or was it all a wild goose chase. McDowell told them it was a military secret and gave them no real answer to the questions. The men of the 4th Regiment then took a democratic vote and it was decided not to re-enlist and to return home at the end of their ninety days.

The time was up on Saturday night and on Sunday morning they started walking home since the Army had refused transport. The sounds they heard as they left that they thought were thunder were really artillery off in the distance. But then they had never heard the sound of artillery in battle before. It wasn't until several days later when they reached Norristown they found they had left just as the first battle of Bull Run was beginning. The newspapers and McDowell in his official report called them cowards; said the 4th Regiment walked away from the battle and their presence could have made the difference.

The men were angry. They weren't cowards. Tired of explaining the situation, the officers set about recruiting companies on a 3 year enlistment. Many of the old 4th Regiment personnel re-enlisted, some did not. And many new men were recruited, such as John W. Shilich.

At the end of the war, Shilich summarized in his diary the battles and campaigns in which he and his regiment participated:

"The 51st has a Record to be Proud of and Which

Cannot Be Equalled by any Regiment in the State, if it can indeed by any in the United States. It has participated in Some 36 Battles and fights and has Seen active Duty in Nearly every State ever embraced With in the Limits of the So-Called Confederate States. It Was the first Body of troops to Leave montgomery County for the Seat of War and it is the Last to Return.



Seat of the War in Virginia

"The 51st Participated in the Campaigns of North Carolina under Gen. Burnside, of Virginia under General Pope, of Maryland under Gen McClellan [McClellan], of Virginia Again under Gen. Burnside, and the Last grand Campaign in Virginia under Gen. Grant. During the Campaign of North Carolina We were engaged in the Battles of Roanoke Island, Newbern and Camden; in the Campaign of Virginia the Regiment Participated in the Battle of Manassas the 2nd, or Bull Run, Chantilly, Kelly's Ford and 8 minor engagements; in the Campaign of Maryland, We Crowned the Heights of South Mountain and it was just as we were Driving

the enemy from the heights that the Brave and much Lamented General Reno was killed — our Division general at Antietam.

“We led the Charge Supported by the 51st New York We stormed the Stone Bridge after a Brigade Was Drove Back and Which Successful Charge, to use the Language of mc clenan [McClellan] “Saved the Day;” in the Campaign of Virginia, We Was engaged at Sulpher Springs and Fredericksburg; in the Campaign of Kentucky, We Was acting against gurillas and Guarding Army Communication. In the Campaign Against Vicksburg under Gen. Grant, We Were Part of Gen. Sherman’s Army Which held Jonson in Check and we were one of the first Regiments to enter and hold Jackson, Mississippi.

“In the Campaign of East tennessee, We Were engaged at Campbell Station, Rutledge, Loudon and Knoxville. In the Campaign of Virginia under Gen Grant, We Participated in the Battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold harbor, Petersburg June 17 and 18th and July 30th, Wheldon Rail Road, Reams Station, hatchers Run, Popular grove Church and appomattax Court house”.

Shillich’s diary is quite comprehensive. After he began daily entries when his initial training was complete, there are comparatively few days without notation. In some cases, perhaps he was too busy, but one suspects most of the blanks are caused by a lack of something about which to write. Between battles, if the Regiment was not on the move, the activities did not vary from day to day, so if it was noted yesterday, there was no reason to repeat it today.

Each day’s entry stands as Shillich wrote it. The excerpted portions used are set off by dividers to indicate some material has been omitted. The last entry used here is March 31, 1864 although the diary continues until the Regiment is mustered out and is dismissed in Norristown on August 2, 1865. Shillich returned to his home, and died in 1873.

The entire diary and related papers, as well as the drum he used with the name of each battle inscribed can be seen at The Historical Society of Montgomery County in Norristown.

Diary of John W. Shillich, Company A, 51st Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers

This Book is the Property of John W. Shillich, Company A, 51st Regiment off [sic] Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 9th Army Corps, Commanded by A. E. Burnside[sic]

I left my home in East Vincent Township, Chester County, Pa. on the 28th off August 1861 and Went down to Norristown and Enlisted; got Sworn in to the Company on the 31st off August. Laid in Camp till the 10th of September, then Left Norristown and marched

across the Schuylkill River to Bridgeport. Got on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad to Harrisburg, the Capital. Then got off the Cars and marched to Camp Curten [sic] the Same Day.

September 12th got Sworn in the State and United States Service today For 3 years During the War or Sooner Discharged. Got our Arms and Flags While we are here, Left Camp Curten at Harrisburg, Pa.³

November the 16th in the evening marched to the Northern Central Rail Road. Got on the Cars, Crossed the Susquehanna River.

November 17th got to Baltimore Maryland at 8 oclock in the Morning. Marched Through the City to the Washington Depot. Got on the Cars after Dark and Rode Past the Relay house. Passed Annapolis Junction. Got to Annapolis Maryland at 12 oclock at Night. Got out the Cars and Went in to Saint John’s College. Staid in the College 2 days, then Pitched tents Back of the College Near Severn River and Called it Camp Burnside[sic].

December 6th Struck tents. Left Camp Burn Sides. Marched 1½ miles and camped. Called it Camp Union; got 2 Pays here.

January 6th 1862 Left Camp Union and marched through the Snow to the Wharf and got on the Schooner Scout in the Evening.⁴

January 9th at 9 oclock in the Morning hoisted Anchor and Left Annapolis, Maryland. Sailed Down the Chesapic Bay at 12 oclock at night. Cast anchor on Account of fog.

January 10th hoist Anchor at Noon and Sailed until 3 oclock in the Afternoon, When we got to Fortress Monroe. We are Part of the Burnside Expedition.

January 11th at 12 oclock at night, Left Fortress Monroe and sailed on the Atlantic Ocean.

January 12th all Sea Sick, No Land in Sight, Sea Rough

January 13th No Land in Sight, Stormy and Rough

January 14th Came Shift About. No Land in Sight

January 15th No Land in Sight, Calm

January 16th Sail in Sight,⁵

January 17th at Noon got to Hatteras inlet, North Carlina. The inlet 100 yards Wide and Breakers Both Sides. Run out of Fresh Water, than [sic] give us Vinegar to Drink. We are Near Forte Hatteras. Fort Clark in Sight, about 3 miles off[f].

January 29th Left the Schooner Scout and got on the Steamboat Phoenix and Rode to the Steam Boat Cossack With the Balance of the Regiment.

January 30th i Seen a Little Boat Caught With a few Rebels in.

February 3rd got the Schooner Scout over the Sand Bar and We got off[f] the Steam Cossack on to the Schooner Scout Again.

February 4th i Seen a Little Boat Caught With a few Niggars in

February 5th Left Hatteras inlet at 9 oclock in the morning and Sailed in to the Pamlico Sound. Cast the Anchor at Dark.

February 6th hoist Anchor at 9 oclock in the morning. The First Gun Fired by Commodore Goldsborough Gunboats at 11 oclock in the morning. Fired till Dark. Got Landed at Ronoke island North Carlina at Dark. Laid out in the Rain all nights With out tents, after Being on the Boats 4 Weeks and 1 Day

February 8th the troops commenced firing at 8 oclock in the morning; fought till 2 oclock in the Afternoon, When the Rebels Left. Laid out in the Rain all night with our tents Got Rashins, Prisnors, Cannons, fortes. This is the 1st Battle For the 51st Pennsylvania Vollen-teers. Marched Down the island 5 miles to the Rebel's Barracks. They are Poor houses.

March 3rd Left Ronoke island at 8 oclock in the morning and got on the Steamer Wheelbarrow and Rode to the Schooner Scout and got on the Scout at 11 oclock in the Morning.

March 11th hoist Anchor at 9 oclock in the morning and Sailed in the Pamlico Sound. Got in Sight of Hatteras inlet at 4 oclock in the Afternoon. Cast Anchor for the night.

Wednesday march 12th hoist Anchor and Sailed Down the Albermarle [Pamlico] Sound. Cast Anchor at 8 oclock at night.

Thursday march 13th Got Landed at the mouth of Slocum Creek along the Nuse [Neuse] River at 10 oclock in the morning. Went through the mud and Rain. Got on the Rail Road and Camped in the Woods all night in the Rain along the Rail Road. Some of the Regiment is on Picket.

Friday march 14th Went at 7 oclock in the morning a few hundred yards, then the troops opened Fire. Fought till 2 oclock in the Afternoon, When the Rebels



Left. Got Prisnors, Fortes, Cannons, Schooners, Rosin and turpentine. There is a Line of Vessels Sunk across the River to Stop our Gunboats. This is the Battle of Newberne [New Bern]. This is 2 Battles for the 51st Pennsylvania Vollen-teers. Laid out all night in the mud With out tents.

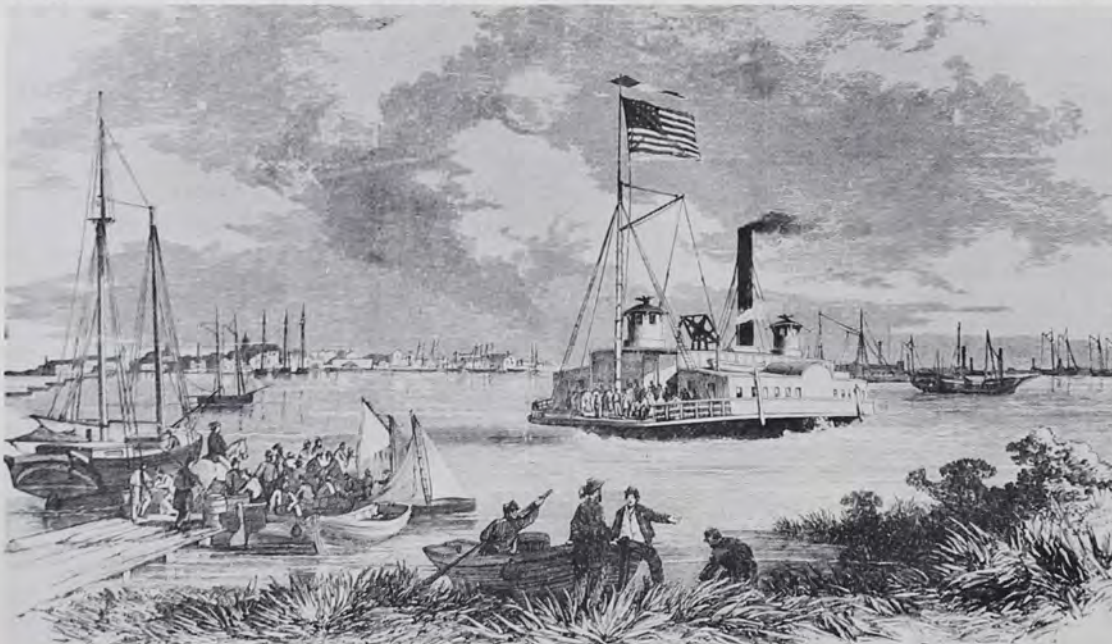
March 15th marched one mile to the Rebels Bar-racks. They are Poor houses. Forte Near by Blown up. Newberne 1 mile off.

Thursday march 20th marched at 9 oclock in the morning, halted at Dark. Laid in the Rain all night With out tents at Polichs Ville [Pollocksville]. Some of the Regiment is on Picket. Burnt 2 Bridges down to-night.

March 21st Left Polichs Ville. Got to our Camp at 3 oclock in the afternoon

Friday April 18th [1862] hoisted Anchor and Sailed Past Ronoke island, then held up for a few hours. A forte on the Mainland opposite us was Blown up. Started and Sailed 5 miles; then the Boat got Fast Near to the Place Where We Was to get Landed, 1 mile From Elizabeth City. Then We Waded ashore.

On the morning of *April the 19th* We Was all Landed at 7 oclock in the morning. Marched till 3 oclock in



View of New Bern from across the Neuse River.

the Aftern., When the Rebs Fired on us With Cannons. Fought till Dark When the Rebs Left. This is the Battle of South Mills or Camden, This is 3 Battles for the 51st Pennsylvania Volunteers. Laid out till 10 oclock at night With out tents. Then we marched the Rest of the night till 7 oclock [in] the morning.

Sunday April 20th got on the Scow and rode to the Steamer Admiral and got on Board of her. We Went to Start and the Steamer got Fast. Then we got on another Boat. After We got to Ronoke island, got on the Steamer that was fast and cast Anchor for the Night.

April 22nd at 8 oclock in the morning Sailed in Pamlico Sound and out of the Sound in to the Nuce River. Got Landed at 2 oclock in the Afternoon at Newberne and marched to our Camp Again.

Saturday May 3rd We Was Reviewed By General Burnside and others.

Thursday May 29th Left Camp Franklin and Went 3 miles to Camp. Called it Camp Reno.

Saturday May 31st Left Camp Reno at 7 oclock in the Morning and marched to the Trent River. It Rained. Then We Come to Camp again. At 3 oclock in the Afternoon Left Camp Reno again. Went over to Newberne to the Review. General Burnside's, Governor Stanley and others Was Preasent. Got to Camp after Dark.

June 20th Left Camp Reno at 4 oclock in the Afternoon. Went 1 mile to the Review. Calvary, Artillery and Wagon train and infantry. General Burnside's Was Presented With a New Sword today. Got to Camp After dark.

July 1st took our things to the Boats. Struck tents at 2 oclock in the morning. Left Camp Reno at 5 oclock in the morning and marched to Newberne. Got on the Steamer Excelsior and Rode to the Schooner Recruit and got on the Recruit.

July 2nd Went Down the Nuce River to the mouth of Slocum Creek and Cast anchor for the night.

Thursday July 3rd turned Back and got to the Landing at Newberne. Cast anchor for the Night.

July 4th the Vessels has got the Signals and Flags flying in Port. Got of[f] the Schooner Recruit on to the Steam Boat Massasoit and got Landed at New Berne, then marched to Camp Again. Got our tents up at Dark.

July 5th in the night Left Camp Reno and marched to the Wharf at Newberne. Then got on the Ferry Boat and Rode to the Schooner Recruit.

July 6th got on the Recruit this morning at the Wharf. Left the Wharf at 9 oclock in the morning at Newberne North Carlina [sic] and Sailed down the Nuce River till 1 oclock at night then Cast the Anchor.

Monday July 7th at 6 oclock Sailed. Got Within 300 yds of Hatteras inlet, then the Schooner got Fast on the Sand Bar. Then We got on the Steamboat Excelsior and got Landed on the Beach. Got the Schooner Loose

and We got on her again. Left Hatteras inlet North Carlina [sic] and got through the Breakers at 1 oclock in the Afternoon and Sailed on the Atlantic Ocean

Wednesday July 8th got to Fortress Monroe at 1 oclock Noon

July 9th Left Fortress Monroe at 6 oclock in the Evening. Sailed up the James River. Passed Sewals Point. Anchored at Newport News.

Friday July 10th got Landed at Newport News, Virginia at 10 oclock in the morning. Went in to Camp and Called it Camp Lincoln. This Ends BurnSide's North Carlina Campaign.⁶



Matthew Brady photograph

Pontoon Bridge across the Rappahannock

Thursday August 14th [1862] marched at 7 oclock in the morning and at noon got on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad at Bealton Station. Got on the Cars and Rode. Crossed the Rappahanock River at Rappahanock Station and Rode to Culpeper Court House. Got out the Cars and Went 1 mile and Lay out in the Rain all night With out tents.⁷

August 15th marched at 2 oclock in the Afternoon and at Dark halted. Co A is on Picket. Lay out all night With out tents.

Sunday August 17th the Band of our Regiment got mustered out of Service tonight.

Monday August 18th Left Camp Near Culpeper Court house about 2 oclock in the morning and marched. Passed Ford Church Near Raccoon Ford.

August 19th Passed Stephensville. Halted for Dinner. Started at 3 oclock in the Afternoon and marched. Waded the Rappahanock River at Kelley's Ford and Camped. Had no tents. Lay out all night.

Thursday August 21st The Rebs Run our Pickets in. We Was ordered to go, But the Cavalry Went in our Place.

Friday August 22nd Left Kelley's Ford at 8 oclock in the morning and marched. Come to Rappahanock



Crossing the Rappahannock (A. Waud)

Library of Congress

Station on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Halted for the night. Laid out in the Rain all night With out tents.

Saturday August 23rd marched at 8 oclock in the morning through the Rain. Halted at 12 oclock at night. Lay out in the Rain all night With out tents.

Sunday August 24th marched and got to Sulpher Springs at midnight. Lay out all night With out tents.

Monday August 25th Left Sulpher Springs and marched at Daylight. Halted at noon opposite Warrenton. Halted at 4 oclock in the Afternoon and Left Camp Near Warrenton. Halted at night. Lay out all night With out tents.

Tuesday August 26th marched at 8 oclo[ck] in the morning and Come to Warrenton Junction. Lay By Near the Junction all night With out tents.



Distributing rations and appointing a knapsack guard, Warrenton, Va.



View of Centerville with Battle-field of Bull Run

Leslie's Illustrated Weekly

Wednesday August 27th Went Back 2 miles on the Road We had Come. Then Went Back and Passed the Junction Again. Went 3 miles then halted. Started at Dinner time and Went till night. Then halted. Had no tents all night.

Thursday August 28 marche[d] at 6 oclock in the morning. Passed greenville. Halted 1 hour at noon, then Started and Come to Manasses Junction. Halted till 4 oclock in the Afternoon then marched till night. Lay out all night With out tents.

Friday August 29th marched at 8 oclock in the morning, Crossed Bull Run on a Bridge and Left Centerville to our Right. Halted at Noon. Took of[f] knapsacke and Went in to the Line of Battle and Supported a 6 gun Battery.

Saturday August 30 Still Supporting Batery. Fell Back to Centerville in the night. This is 4 Battles for the 51st Pennsylvania Volenteers. Was in it 2 days. This is the 2nd Battle of Bull Run. I got taken Prisnor, But our Cavalry Chased the Rebs. Then i got of[f]. Oh, Did i ever Run When i got Loose.

Sunday August 31st i got up to the Regi[ment] this morning at Centerville.

Sunday September 14th [1862] marched at 8 oclock in the morning and Went through Middletown Went 2 miles. Then Went in to the fight. This is the Battle of South mountain. This is 6 Battles for the 51st Pennsylvania Volenteers. Part of the Company is on Picket tonight. Lay out all night with out tents.⁸

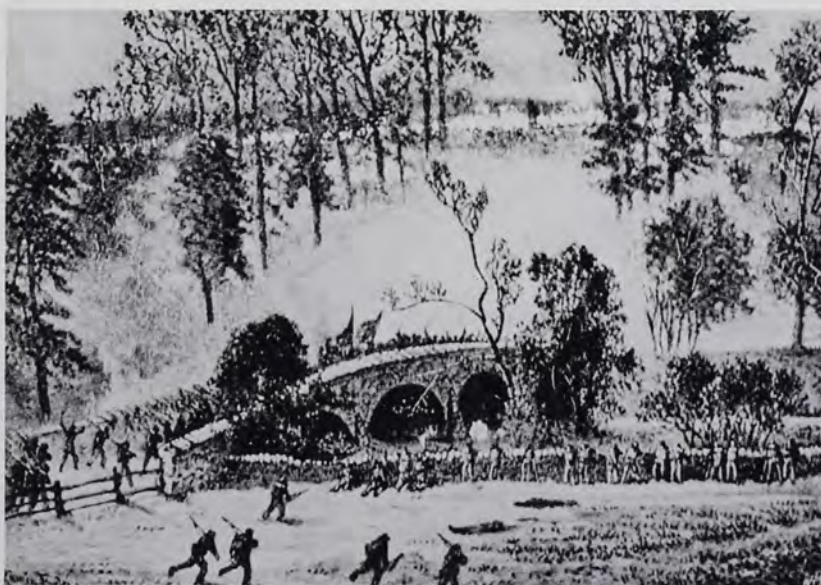
Monday September 15th Left the Battle Field at 10 oclock in the morning and marched. At night halted. Had no tents.

Tuesday September 16th marched at noon. At night halted. Had no tents.

Wednesday September 17th Went in to the fight at Antietam Bridge. Our Regiment and the 51st New York took the Bridge after 6 Regiments Was Drove Back.

Charge across the Burnside Bridge, Antietam, by the 51st Penna. & 51st N. Y. Regts.

Century Magazine





Portion of Fredericksburg after bombardment, 1862.

Matthew Brady
photograph

This is 7 Battles for the 51st Pennsylvania Volunteers.

Friday September 19th Went over the Battle field at 8 oclock this morning and halted 1 mile to the Left of Sharpsburg.

Tuesday September 23rd. Went to the Equidock of the Ohio and Chesapic Canal and Went on Picket along the Canal in front of the Potomac River.

Wednesday September 24th Left the Canal at 4 oclock in the Afternoon and Come over Antietam Again and Camped With out tents.

Friday September 26th Left Camp at 8 oclock in the morning and marched. Crossed over Antietam Again and Went along the Creek 1 mile and halted With out tents.

Monday September 29th got New Flags today from the Citizens of Norristown.

Friday September 29th We Was Reviewed by General Mc Lenan [McClellan], General Burnside and President Lincoln.

Sunday October 5th Had no tents from the 12th of August till today, almost 2 months.

The 51st Pennsylvania Regiment took part in battles at Sulphur Springs and Fredericksburg. In the spring of 1863 they sailed to Baltimore where they boarded a train to Cincinnati, then a steamer to Covington, Kentucky spending a couple of months moving around the state guarding the Army communication.

Summer 1863 saw the regiment down the Mississippi to Vicksburg and the siege at Jackson. Because they were involved there they missed the Gettysburg battle on their home state soil. After Vicksburg it was back up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers to Cincinnati and Covington, Kentucky and overland to east Tennessee.

Friday Oct 30th [1863] We Was Called out at 8 oclock at night and Stood in the rain till We got Wet through. Then we did not go. Some of the Regiment Went on Picket tonight along the tennessee River.

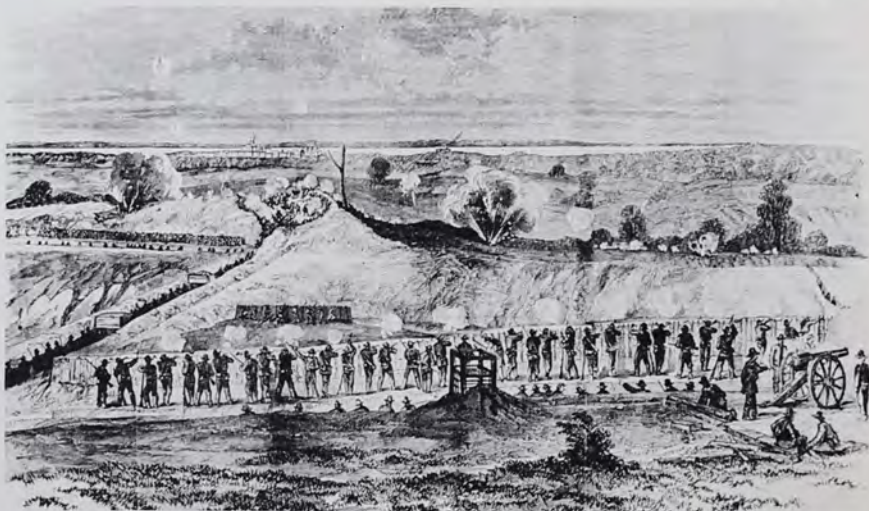
Wednesday Nov 11th Part of the Regiment is Diging Dirt along the tennessee River for a Road to the Pontoon Bridge.

Thursday Nov 12th Still Diging Dirt.

Saturday Nov 14th got up in the morning Before Day Light and Struck tents and Stood in the Rain till

Siege of Vicksburg, seen from Fort Hill

Leslie's Illustrated Weekly



Dark. Then Put up tents.

Sunday Nov 15th Left Lenor Station at 2 oclock in the morning and marched in the mud and Rain. Halted along the tennessee River Below Loudon at Day-light. Then Supported Skirmishes. Then Skirmished up to Lenor Station. Got there Before Dark. Left Lenor after Dark and marched in the mud and Rain to Camp Bells Station Near ConCord, then halted. Formed Line of Battle.

Monday Nov 16th Went in the fight at 11 oclock in the fornoon. Come out at Dark. This is 12 Battles for the Fifty-first Pennsylvania Volenteers. It is named Campbells Station. Then marched after Dark all night.

Tuesday Nov 17th got to knoxsville this morning and Skirmishing Comenced. The Regiment Went in the Breast Works at 4 oclock in the Afternoon. We Was on half Rashins from the 19th of Oct till the 11th of Nov.

Wednesday Nov 18th the Regiment come out of the Breast Works this morning and Went to Build a Dam and Dig Breast Works and Worked till 11 oclock at night.

Thursday Nov. 19th Regiment is Still in the Breast Works. Part of the Regiment is on Picket every day and night.

Sunday Nov 29th the Regiment made a charge Before Breakfast and Drove the Rebs out of the Pits, then Come to Camp and moved tents in the Breast Works. We get for 1 mans Rashens a day a quart of Corn meal for 5 days. 1 man gets 4 ounces of Shugar and 2 ounces of Coffee. We get Bran Bread. 1 Loaf Weights 42 ounces and it is 4 men's rashins for 1 day, a Little over 10 ounces a day for 1 man. We get 2 Spoons full of Salt for 5 days for 1 man. Had no Soap for Some time. We get fresh Beef for Some time once in a While. We get 2 inches of Pork for 5 days. Got 2 Spoons full of mollasses once. Get half a plug of tobbaeco every 5 days. Oh god, i Want to go home to get Something to eat.

Wash Day on the March (E. Forbes)

Library of Congress



Saturday Dec 5th the Regiment Was in the Breast Works 18 Days. The Siege of knoxsville Lasted 18 Days. This is 13 Battles for the 51st Pennsylvania Volenteers. The Regiment Went out on a Reconisance and got Back in a few hours.

Sunday Dec 6th got Payed today and Settled up 1 years of Clothing.

Dec 7th Left our tents and knapsacks. Left Camp at Knoxville at 9 oclock in the morning and marched. Halted at 4 oclock in the Afternoon.

Tuesday Dec 8th Left camp at 11 oclock in the morning and marched. Halted at 3 oclock in the Afternoon. We get 6 ounces of flour for 1 man's Rashins a day. We get 2 Crackers for 1 man's Rashens a day.

Wednesday Dec 9th Left Camp at 9 oclock in the morning and marched. Halted at Rutledge at 2 oclock in the afternoon. We get half a Pound of Corn meal for one man Rashins a Day. Get a Piece of Beef the Size of a Walnut for 2 days. i Want to go home to Die

Dec 12th Got half a pound of flour today. i Want to go home for Some meat.

Sunday Dec 13th Regimental inspection. Got half a pound of flour today. A heavy appetite. Flour is to[o] Little for us.

Monday Dec 14th got Shugar and Coffee today, the first for Nearly a month.

Tuesday Dec 15th Left Camp. Formed Line of Battle, then Went in the Woods on Picket. Got 1 Whole Pound of flour for today. Mercifull father, give us a Little meat. Marched with out our Supper. Left Rutledge and at 1 oclock at night, halted.

Wednesday Dec 16th Left camp at 10 oclock in the morning and marched. Halted Before Dark and formed Line of Battle. Then Lay in the mud and Rain all night. Got 2 Crackers for our Rashins today. i Want to go home.

Thursdy Dec 17th Laid in Line of Battle all day and night.

Supper after a hard March

Century Magazine



Saturday Dec 19th Laid in Line of Battle all Day and night. Got 2 Crackers today for 1 man. i Want to go home to get Some Perserves.

Sunday Dec 20th got 2 Crackers today Long appetite Short Rashins.

Monday Dec 21st We got our tents and knapsack. We had Left them at knoxville for 15 Days.

Tuesday Dec 22nd moved Camp in the Woods.

Wednesday Dec 23rd Regiment Went on a Reconisance and got Back in a few hours.

Saturday Dec 26th Raining. The Company Went on Picket.

Thursday Dec 31 muster and inspection. Snow tonight.

Friday January 1st 1864 i Got Vaxinated today

Sunday Jan 3rd got 2 Ears of Corn for 1 man's Rashins a day.

Monday Jan 4th i Reinlisted today for 3 years. I got Sworn in today. Time Commences from Jan 1st 1864. i Reinlisted as Drummer of Company A 51st Regiment of Pennsylvania Veteran Volenteers after Serving 2 years and 6 months.

Jan 6th Snow.

Jan 7th Snow.

Monday Jan 11th the Regiment is getting hide Shoes made to go With. The hide come of(f) the Cattle in the morning; in the afternoon they Was made in to Shoes.

Jan 16th i Was Nurse at the hospital 28 days. Close to Camp.

At long last the furlough back home. It took nearly one month to reach Harrisburg.

Tuesday Feb 9th Left harrisburg at 8 oclock in the morning. Got to Bridgeport and got out the Cars and marched through Norristown. Got our dinner at the market house, then Was Dismissed for 3 Days.

Feb 10th i got home today.

Feb 22nd We Paraded at Norristown.

March 10th Left Norristown after We was Presented With Colors and Marched to Bridge Port. Got on the Reading Railroad and Rode to harrisburg, then marched to Camp Curten in the mud and Rain. Got there at 2 oclock in the Afternoon and camped in Large hospital tents.

Wednesday March 16th Went to Put up A tents and the orders was Countermanded.

Thursday March 17th Saint Patrick's Day. We Was Reviewed by General Burnsides.

Sunday March 20th Left Camp Curten at 9 oclock in the morning and marched through harrisburg Crossed the Susquehanna River on the Long Bridge. Got on the Northern Central Railroad at Forte Washington and Rode through Pennsylvania in to Maryland. Got to Baltimore at 7 oclock in the evening. Got of[f] the Cars and marched to the Washington Depot and

halted. Got our Supper at the Union Refreshment Saloon and Staid there all night.

Monday March 21st Left the Saloon and marched to the Wharf. Got on the Steamer Georgia in the Patapsco river. Left Baltimore at 10 oclock in the morning and Sailed Down the Patapsco River, out of the River into Chesapic Bay. Got to Annapolis maryland at 3 oclock in the afternoon and marched to Camp Parole and halted.

March 22nd Put up A tents today. Snow and Very Cold.

Wednesday March 23rd Left Camp Parole and Went

Wednesday March 23rd Left Camp Parole and Went in the tents and Called it Camp Bell.

March 25th We was Run out of our tents by Water. Went to a house and Slept in a Shed all night.

Saturday March 26th Went to the Shed to Sleep Again. The tent is full of Water.

March 28th moved Camp Bell the Side of the Rail road.

Thursday March. 31st i Carried my Drum the first Term of Service. then i gave it to the major then the cornel and my captain gave me a 22 dollar Drum for a Preasent. i got it today. Drum, Drum, Drum.

Endnotes

¹In the beginning of the Civil War, the bugle had not become popular. It was only during the latter period of this war the bugle calls with which we are familiar came into existence.

²Thomas H. Parker, *History of the 51st Regiment of the Pennsylvania Volunteers and Veteran Volunteers* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1869) pp 9-11.

³The daily entries start on November 16, 1861. The two previous paragraphs were written after the fact. Shillich, in Captain Bolton's Company, Company A, was in fact sworn into the service of the state of Pennsylvania on September 11 and into the United States Army on September 12. The Regiment as a whole was mustered into service September 28, 1861. *Ibid.*

⁴The Burnside Expedition was the first main amphibious expedition of the Civil War. It was against the North Carolina coast.

⁵This had been planned as a coastwise expedition. It wound up miles at sea due to an inexperienced navigator. Everyone on board was sea sick and some supplies gave out. The supply ship carrying the most modern rifles sank. The soldiers had to make do with poorer weapons.

⁶This expedition which was prepared with imagination did not succeed in its goal of splitting the Confederacy through North Carolina. It was necessary to withdraw after the Battle of New Bern.

⁷Between July 10, and August 14, 1862 the Regiment travelled by boat and railroad to Fredericksburg, Virginia and then began the maneuvering prior to second battle of Bull Run here described.

⁸After Bull Run, Shillich was involved with the Battle at Chantilly then passed through Washington, D.C. and marched into Maryland towards South Mountain and then Antietam.



Kartze G'dichte

Short Poems

UNSER PENNSYLFAWNISCH — DEITSCH SPROCH "Schamm't Eich Net"

Es is ken Sproch in aller Welt
Wie Pennsylvawnisch Deitsch,
For alle Wart kummt eem vum Herz
Un's hot noh Pfeffer, Salz un G'werz,
Verloss dich druf es schneid!
Wann's Medel eem net will, versteh,
Dann sagt's es ahful Wertle — NEE.

Es geht em ah besser vun der Zung
Als Englisch, don't you see,
In Englisch saga sie, O yess
Un ebmols sage sie I guess
Un ebmols: Yes sirree!
Doch is ken Wart as steht in Lah,
Wies Pennsylvawnisch-Deitsch Wart — JA.

Ihr Pennsylvawnisch-Deitschie Leit
Ihr breicht eich net so schamme.
Losst juscht die Englische als lache
Mit ihre hochgelernte Sache
Sie larna eich noch kenne.
Es is en Lerning net in Bicher
Wann net so schee, doch viel meh sicher.

Ich bin nau schun viel rumher gereest,
Ann're Landschafte sehne.
Ich war schun Nord, Sud, Ost un West
Un welle Landschaft gleich ich's bescht?
'S grad ald Pennsylvani!
Un's kann mich ah nix do raustreiwe.
Mei Meind is ufgemacht zu bleiwe.

(Es ald gedicht genumme aus en alder alder kalenner)
— Gedruckt fer'm Airsht Barricks Kaunt
Fersommling, Redden, 1937

OUR PENNA DEITSCH DIALECT "Don't apologize"

There is no language in all the world
Like the Penna Deitsch dialect
For every word comes from the heart
Still has its salt, pepper and spice
Don't ever let yourself be cut off from it!
The unwilling young lady answers, understood,
Most definitely and clearly in dialect: NO!

It comes off the tongue better
Than English, don't you see!
In English they say, "Oh, yes"
And sometimes, "I guess"
Or at times even, "Yes sir-ree!"
Still, there is no word at all that stands in law
Like the Penna Deitsch word, "Ya!"

You Penna Deitsch people don't need to be so ashamed,
Just let the English laugh, with their high-faluting ways.
They will still learn to know you.
And it's a learning not in books,
If not so beautiful, it is much more certain.

I have now travelled around quite a bit,
And have seen other landscapes.
I've already been to the North, South, East and the West
And which of those landscapes do I like the best?
Right! It's good old Pennsylvania
I cannot force myself to go anywhere else;
My mind is quite made up to stay here.



SO E PALZER BAUREMADCHE

Richard Müller (1906)

So e Pälzer Bauremädche,
Hui, das is e heller Staad!
Flink und flichtig wie e Rädche
Un mi'm Mäulche glei parat!

In de Woch e leine Säckche,
Kobbduch un genahlde Schuh,
Sunndags Locke, Puffejäckche,
Hut un Sunnescherm dezu!

Werdags ziert sich's net e Weilche,
Babbelt pälzisch wie ich aach,
Sunndags awwer spitzt's des Mäulche,
Un spricht hochdeutsch: nooch und nach!

Awwer's Herz, das muss mer sage,
Sitzt'em stets am rechte Platz,
Un am Sunn- wie Wochedage
Schlecht's for eene: for sei Schatz!

SUCH A PALATINATE FARMGIRL

Richard Mueller (c. 1906)

Such a Palatine farmgirl,
Ai, what a bright state of being,
Nimble and flying like a (spinning) wheel,
And with a little mouth always ready.

During the week with her linen loose dress,
Kerchief and hobnail shoes;
Sundays curls and puffed sleeve blouse
Hat and parasol with her!

Workdays she doesn't fancy-up much at all,
Chatters Pälzer-dialect just like me.
But on Sundays, the little mouth sharpens up
And speaks High-German: Not "nooch" but "nach."

But I really must say that her heart
Remains at the right place either way:
And so on Sundays just as on weekdays
It beats for one: for her sweetheart.



PAELZER SCHNITZE

Daniel Kuehn

Kaiserslautern 1901

'S FRIEDFERTIG EH' PAAR

Mer war e Ehepaar bekannt,
Dess lebt ganz ohne Zank und Schtreit.
O jeh, sagt Ehr, im ganze Land
Gebt's so käbrave Eheleit!

Ehr glabt m'r's net! Un doch iss wohr:
Nie sin se hinnernanner kumm
Un war'n verheirat mannich Jahr:
Der Mann war daab, die Fraa war schtumm.

LEICHT

'M alte Ferschter Grünewald
Sei Enkel der schtudiert soewe
In Minche driwe, dem gefällt
Dess luschtige Schtudentelewe. — —

Zwä Schpeezel dhun nau letscht emol
Mit 'm Grünewald sesammetreffe:
"Herr Ferschter, Sie erlawen wohl;
Wass for e Fach schtudiert Ehr Neffe?"

"Viehdokter!" sat kurz aa'gebunn
D'r Alt', "Dess kummt 'm leicht, Ehr Herre,
Dann wisst: e Vieh, dess iss 'r schun,
Nau braucht 'r blos noch Dokter se werre!"

PALATINATE CLIPPINGS

Daniel Kuehn

Kaiserslautern 1901

THE PEACEABLE MARRIED COUPLE

There was a well-known married couple,
Living entirely without contention and strife.
Oh yes, you may say, in all the land
There's hardly a couple so worthy!

You don't believe me! Yet it's true:
Never have they come after each other
And they were married many a year:
The husband was deaf, the wife was dumb.

EASILY DONE

Old Prince Gruenewald's
Nephew who studies just so
Over there in Munich, really likes
the raucous student life.

Two old chums so recently
Bumped into Gruenewald again and asked:
"Noble Sir, you appear quite well;
For what kind of profession is your Nephew studying?"

"Veterinarian!" (Animaldoctor) gruffly retorted
The Older, "That's easy for him,
Anyone knows: Animal he is already,
Now all he needs is to become a Doctor yet!"

A. H. W. GRANDEMANN

When a quarry accident
killed his father,
Billy Grandemann had to leave school,
never going beyond second reader.
In those days,
near Hanover and Gettysburg,
band leaders
were attracted to towns
and encouraged to teach boys to play.
Billy practised the cornet
on the country roads
as he walked to work on a farm.
He used sample music
obtained from mail order houses.
At night he studied a dictionary,
then an encyclopedia,
then every book connected with music
he could get his hands on.
There were other instruments to learn,
and solo parts to excel in.
He became good at wood work,
piano tuning, organ repair.
In his prime
towns competed — —
offering him work
if he would lead their band
and train their boys.
But marching bands faded
and false teeth spoiled his "lip"
for fancy playing.
That is when he learned to make
and play
violins.
He lived long enough
to enjoy a hand-wound victrola
with high class Red Seal records,
and to get some pleasure from
a primitive crackling radio.
Given a few more years
symphony and opera
would have become available
in Billy Grandemann's
little room,
to bring him the ultimate
in satisfaction.

Alfred L. Creager
12/12/78

REMINDER

During a hundred years
of changes
the original church building
was rearranged and disguised
to be almost lost
within the many additions.

One day workmen found
a marble slab
on the original front wall,
but behind a newer facade.
Carved in this stone
was the forgotten
original name,
Christian Meeting House.

It is still up there,
behind a false ceiling
for another generation to discover.

Alfred L. Creager
12/12/78

MAVERICK MENNONITES

I walk among the graves
of maverick Mennonites
who were expelled from
the old congregation;
or left,
depending upon how you see it.

Trouble developed
around educating boys
at Freeland Seminary,
and a proper coat for one of the preachers,
and more open views generally.

They built their own church
and set aside ground for burials,
where the stones now cast long shadows
toward evening . . .
long shadows.

Alfred L. Creager
12/12/78

TO THE ORGAN PUMPERS

When the pipe organ
gave up
old Barrington managed
to do one of his string and wire jobs
to make it work for a while.
After he died
no one could figure out
the maze of amazing
improvisations he devised.
So everything was torn out.
Everything, that is,
but the long handle
still attached to the bellows.
The minister quietly left that in the chamber
with the new organ
out of respect for those uncelebrated ones
who hand-pumped
while others sang praise.

Alfred L. Creager
12/12/78

IM FRIHJOHR

Ludwig Schandain

c. 1852

O jerum, o jerum, was bin ich so froh!
Der Winner is wegger, das Frihjohr is do!
Die Luft wie so warum, der Himmel wie blo-
Was bin ich so froh!

Ewegger de' Wammes, die Schtrimp' un die Schuh!
Jetzt laff ich barfissig, hemmsär'mlich dezu!
Die Vechel han aah jo kee' Strimp' un kee' Schuh,
Bin luschtig dezu.

Das Bächelche, knapps aus der Wickel gestieh,
Das laaft d'r so hortig, m'r kann es net krieg',
Ob Hecke nohgucke, ob Bäm' in der Blih -
Ja hann-er's gesieh?

Will wegger net laafe, wo's Wällche so schee',
Will deck mit di' Buwe, in's Grine nei'geh'!
Ja ich un die ann're, mer eenzig allee' -
Das werd emol schee'!

O jerum, o jerum, was luschtige Dah':
Das werd d'r e' Lewe, wer kann es nor sah'?
Will singe, will springe, will Schnellercher schlah' -
O jerum-trarah!

IN SPRINGTIME

Ludwig Schandain

O gosh! O gee! What brings me such cheer?
Winter has gone and Springtime is here!
The air is so balmy, the heavens so blue,
What more need I do?

Off go the jackets, stockings and shoes!
Run around barefooted; no shirt need I use!
The little birds have likewise no stockings nor shoes
Still happily sing.

The little brook bubbles merrily forth from its diapering,
It runs along so errantly one can never catch it
If you look closely at brush or trees now in bloom
Can't you see it all?

I won't run any farther tho' the backdrop's so fine,
I'll rest with the boys, go into green growth
Yes, the others and I, just us all alone
How beautiful that will be!

O golly! O gosh! What bursting-forth days:
That will make a life, who can say just what?
We want to sing and to run and just rapidly go -
Hurrah and tally-ho!



D' PARA

When the young preacher
First came to Orwigsburg
Men loafing at the Post Office
Said, as he approached,
"Hier kummt d' Parra" —
Then greeted him in English,
And as he left
Spoke "Deutsch" again.
If he tried to tarry
Long enough to get acquainted
They were ill at ease.

One day he said to the post master:
"Wie gehts, Mischder Schimpf?"
The man replied in surprise
"Kannst du Deutsch?"
"Yah" he said, "so simlich."
As the pastor walked out
He heard one of them say
"He's a good fellah!"

The next day he was invited
To go fishing.

Alfred L. Creager

I WAS POW-WOWED

Somewhere near Hanover
There was a three-horse farm,
Owned by relatives,
Where my brother and I
Went from our home in York
To visit for two weeks.

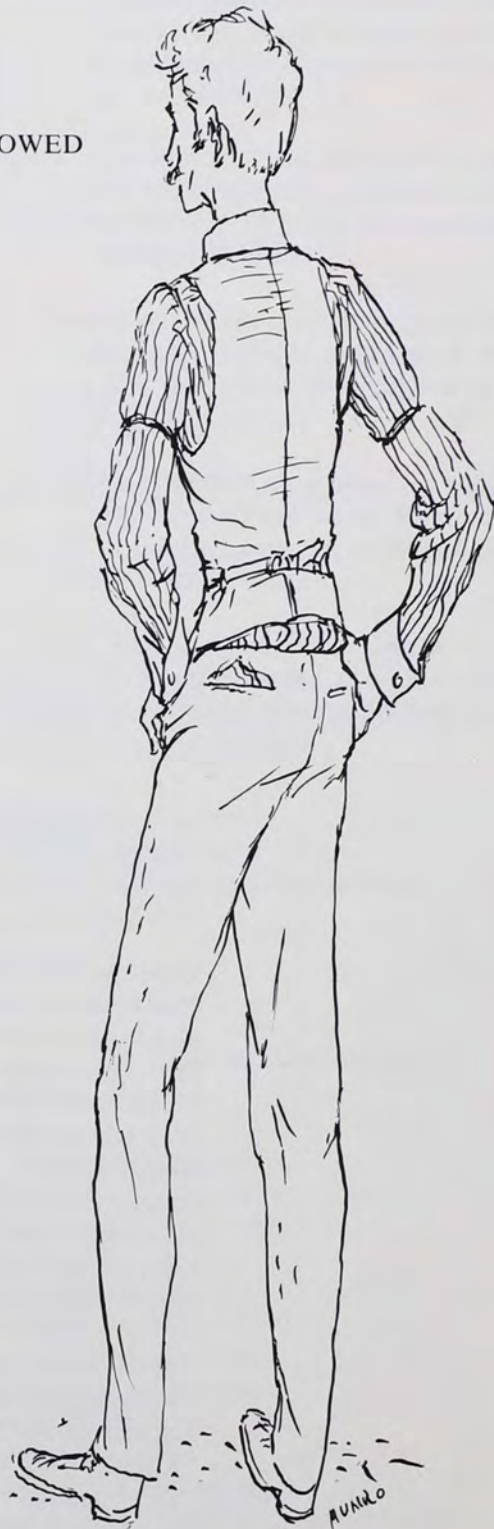
The first Saturday there
I was pow-wowed
In a neighboring farm kitchen.

It seemed I did not have
Enough "speck" on me.
When they pinched the flesh
On my arm
Between thumb and finger
It came up thin.
I needed pow-wowing
For "ab nehme."

I remember being stripped,
And as I stood on a chair
The old farm woman
Passed a circle of string
Down over my head and body
And back again
As she muttered words
That included the Lord's Prayer.
Then the string
Was wound round an egg,
The lid on the stove lifted,
And the wrapped egg thrown
Into the fire.

I got dressed
And we waited a while
Then they looked to see
And said
With satisfaction . . .
"It took!"

But it didn't.
I've been the skinny type
All my life.



Alfred L. Creager

More Dialect Stories

by Alvin Kemp



DAR PARRA UN DIE KOO

Yawra tsurick wawr es dar gabrouch dos die parra woo in lond's karricha gabreddicht hen, gile un kee kolta, un hen n glay schtick lond kotta far tsu bov- vera.

Dar Parra Boyer, en Effengailischer parra, net wide foon Pikeville, hut mole en koo kawft on ra fendoo un hut sie hame gadrivva. Wie sei fraw sie ooveds gamolka hut, wawr die koo gons gadooldich. Dar parra un sei fraw wawra orrick goot tsufridda mit da koo.

Sundawg marriyets wawr dar Parra free gadresst im ma longfligliche ruck, ready far noch da karrich tsu gay. Sei fraw hot ovver gamaint ar dait besser sich tsu da koo schtella bis sie gamulka hett. Uff ae mole iss die koo ewbannich warra, un iss em Parra mit ieram harn in aines foon seina gnub-lecher foom ruck kooma, iss ous da ban un die schtrose oona nous-gschprunga mit em Parra naiva har.

Ains foom Parra seina nochbara hut een un die koo saina kooma, un iss nous an die schtrose far saina wos aw-gait. Secht dar nochbar, "Parra, wo wit nous so free mit dar koo?"

"Des wase Gott un die koo; ich wais es net," secht dar Parra.

THE PREACHER AND THE COW

Years ago it was the custom that the minister, who preached in a country church, kept horses and cattle and had a little piece of ground for farming.

Parra Boyer, an Evangelical preacher, not from Pikeville, bought a cow once at sale and drove her home. When his wife milked her evenings the cow was completely gentle. The minister and his wife were completely satisfied with the cow.

Sunday morning the preacher had dressed early in his long-tailed coat, ready to go to church. But his wife suggested that he better stand ready to hold the cow until she was milked. One time the cow became frightened and the minister wound up with the tip of one of her horns in one of the button holes of his coat, she ran out of fright into the street with the preacher running right along close beside.

One of the minister's neighbors saw him and the cow coming and went out into the street himself to see what was coming about. Said the neighbor, "Reverend, where are you going out so early with the cow?"

"Only God and the cow know that, I don't," said the minister.



GOOT JUDGMENT

Dar Henry Moser foom Salsbarrick un sei fraw, die Betz, sin net good fart-kooma mit nonner. Sie hut aw tsu feel droovel kot mit oll iera nochbara un hut dar Hen feel moles baleidicht waiya socha dos net feel gamaint hen.

Mole ai dog hut dar Hen ebbes gootes gsawt foon aines foon da nochbara. Des hut die Betz net gagliche. Sie hut em Sam en goot kobittel rooner-galaisa un hut iem gsawt ar hett ken goot judgment. "Ya," secht dar Hen, "Ich wase es, ovver du huscht goot judgment kot wie du mich keiert huscht. Ich hob's farfailt."

GOOD JUDGMENT

Henry Moser from Salisbury and his wife, Betz, did not get along too well with each other. She also had too much trouble with all her neighbors and often insulted Hen because of things that didn't mean too much.

One day Hen said something good about one of the neighbors. That Betz didn't like. She read out Sam a good chapter's worth and said he (Hen) didn't have good judgment. "Yes," said Hen, "I know that, but you had good judgment when you married me. I'm the one whose judgment was lacking."

WOONERFITZ

Droona in Oyschders' Dawl in Pike Township hut en monn gawoont by em nawma Bill Moyer. Ar wawr en olter monn un hut net hardt gschofft dorrich sei laiva. Ar wore foul un woonerfitch wie selli ort lite sin. Won ebber die schtrose roof-kooma iss, iss dar Bill nouse on die schtrose un hut en ous-gfroogt. Ar iss uft woonderbawr baloga warra un feel lite sei woonerfitchigkeit laidich warra.

Mole a dawg hut ar gsaina dos dar Davy Moser die schtrose rooner koomt mit da feer-geils fure. No iss dar Bill nous un hut dar Davy gschuppt un hut gfroogt wos ar fawra wott odder date. Des hut dar Davy fartsarnt un ar hut em Bill en kartzi antwart gevva.

"Ich fawr dar wogga," hut dar Davy iem gsawt. Em Davy sei antwart hut dar Bill fartsarnt un ar is room-gadrait un hut tsu sich selvert gschwetzt. Un wos ar gsawt hut, darf mar net drooka. Dar Bill hut seinera fraw gsawt wos dar Davy iem gaantwart hett. "Es iss grawd recht far dich," secht sei fraw, "loss dei naws ous da onnera lite iera socha."



GOOTER RODE

Yawra tsurick sin ols medicine shows rum-ga-travelled fun schtettel tsu schtettel darrich's lond. Die show leit hen en program gevva un medicine farkawft. Ainer fon da show menner hut sich alfart aw-gevva ols en doktor. Far en guter eidruck tsu mocha, hut ar gamainer-hond die leit effendlich ous-gfrogt wos letz wair mit iena, wie sie glawva daita un so weider.

Es sin alfart feel leit noch denna shows kumma. Em doktor sei rode wawr frei, ovver ar hut medicine kot far bal olla gronkheit, un hut aw feel farkawft. Feel leit hen gamaint sie date iena helfa, un sin eifers em show noch gonga fon schtettel tsu schtettel.

Es wawr mole so en show om Londes' Schtore. Em Abe Dotterer sei fraw wo alfart gamaint hut sie wair gront - iera gronkheit wawr foulheit - hut dar doktor gfrogt eb ar iera helfa kennt.

"Wos failt dier?" hut dar doktor sie gfrogt.

"Weiders nix, ovver es iss mier so evvafeel far uff-tsu-schtay marriyeds," hut sie gaantwart.

"Dos sin pillas, nemm ainie den novet won du noch em bed gaischt, un ich bin sure dos du uff-schtaischt marriya free," secht der doktor.

Sie hut fartsailt dos sie hett ken druvvel kot far dar naigscht marriya uff-tsu-schtay.



NOSEY

Over in Oysterdale in Pike Township lived a man named Bill Moyer. He was an old man and managed to live his whole life without much hard work. He was lazy and nosey as that kind of people are. When anyone came up the street, Bill was right out to question him closely. He was often lied to and many people were tired of his snooping.

One day he saw Davy Moser come down the street with his four-horse team. So out went Bill and stopped Davy and asked him what he wanted to haul, or what he must haul. That made Davy angry and he gave Bill a short answer.

"I'm hauling my wagon," Davy said to him. Davy's answer didn't please Bill either, and he turned around talking to himself. And what he said one dare not print. Bill then told his wife what Davy had answered. "That's just right for you," said his wife, "keep your nose out of other people's business."

GOOD ADVICE

Years ago, medicine shows travelled from town to town throughout the countryside. The show people gave a program and sold medicine. One of the men from the medicine show always claimed to be a doctor. In order to make a good impression, he ordinarily inquired of the people publicly what ailed them, why they believed that, and so forth.

There really were a great many people who came to these shows. The doctor's advice was free, although he had medicine for almost all illnesses, and he sold quite a bit. Many people maintained that they really helped them and often went along with the show from town to town.

Just such a show came by Landis Store. Abe Dotterer's wife, who always insisted she was ill - her sickness was laziness - asked the doctor whether he was able to help her.

"What's the matter with you?" the doctor asked her.

"Nothing special, but I'm just never interested in getting up in the morning," she answered.

"Here are pills. Take one each evening when you go to bed and I am sure you will be up very early tomorrow morning," said the doctor then.

And she later explained that she had no trouble at all getting up early the next morning.

FOLL OUS-GSCHPROCHA

Dar Isaac Weller un dar Joe Moyer in Heydta Dawl in District Township wawra nochbora un grosa freind. Sie hen freindlich nonner mit kolfä in feel socha. Iera heiser un gorda wawra on do sama schtrose ovver ivver die schtrose fon nonner.

Es wawr dar gabrouch tsu sellera tseit dos die fense um da gorda olla freeyore uff-gfixt sei hut missa so dos ken hinkel nei-kooma sin un es soch farhouse.

Mole a freeyore iss dar Isaac on sei fense uff-fixa gonga, hut die fense grawd gamocht un die glopbord fascht ganaggelt. Glei hut ar kairt dos dar Joe aw om gluppa iss on seinera fense. Sie wawra olla tsway fleisich on da arrawet. Ivver dem hut dar Isaac dar Joe nimmy haira gluppa, hut nivver gagookt un saint dar Joe uff un ab lawfa un die recht hond uff un nonner schwenka.

"Wos hut's now gevva?" frogt dar Isaac.

"Mar maint es kennt net sei. Ich hob mier en foller schtraich uff dar douma gschlagga," secht dar Joe.

Dar Isaac hut yuscht fun gamocht da-foon, un hut dar Joe gfrogt eb ar es grawd ous-gfunna hett.

"Ya," secht dar Joe, "un ich hob mich fellich ous-galairt, un wos ich net gsawt hob, iss mier yuscht tsu da tseit net in die gedunka kumma."

FULLY OUTSPOKEN

Isaac Weller and Joe Moyer in Heydtdale in District Township were neighbors and good friends. In a friendly way, they helped each other in many things. Their houses and gardens were on the same street, but across the street from one another.

The custom those days was that the fencing around the gardens must be fixed every spring so that no chickens came in to destroy the garden things.

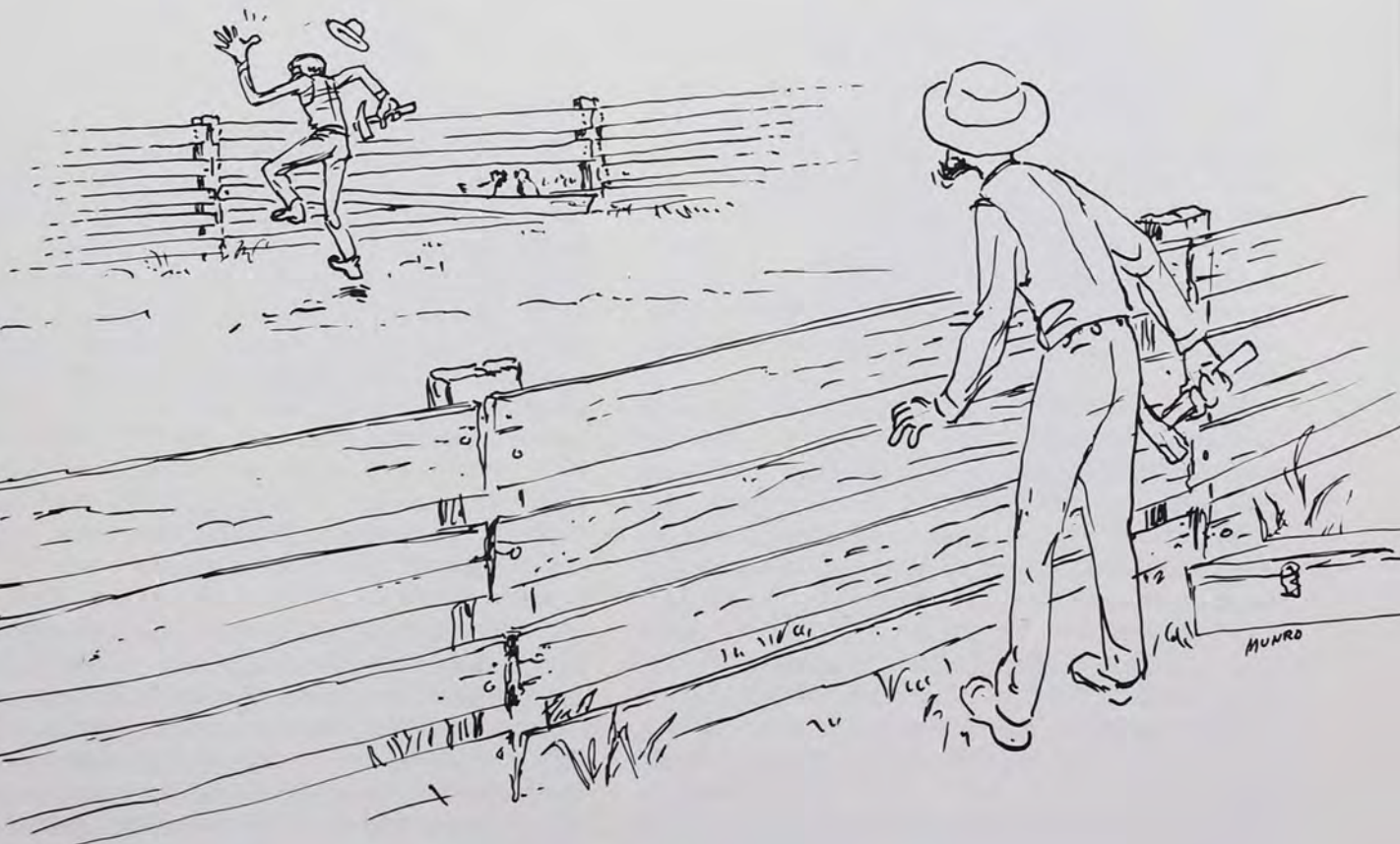
One spring Isaac went to fix his fence, made the fence straight and nailed clapboards on tight. Scarcely had he returned, but Joe came hammering on his own fence. They both worked hard at it. After a while, Isaac didn't hear Joe hammering any more, looked over and saw Joe running back and forth, swinging his right hand up and down.

"What's up now?" asked Isaac.

"One thinks it cannot be. I just hit myself a mighty wallop on the thumb," said Joe.

Isaac just made fun of that when he asked Joe whether he had found out directly.

"Yes," said Joe, "and I completely finished learning it, but I didn't tell anyone, for until this moment it hadn't come to mind."



Altes un Neues

Old and New

We cannot say that the groundhog failed to warn us of the six additional weeks of harsh weather, but after the essentially open Winter we Pennsylvanians had enjoyed until 2 February 1979, we hardly expected the repeated snowfalls seemingly intent upon equalling the heavy blanket of snow that fell on North Germany earlier in the Winter. It was enough to keep many of the folk off the road, although traditional meetings seemed quite well attended, where food was not neglected.

It happens the weather gave us a chance to review our activities and to read some back issues of *Pennsylvania Dutchman* and other current ones of *Pennsylvania Folklife*. Indeed some of you who did that same thing pleased us when you gave us the benefit of your thoughts. An editor is bound to commit some error so it is helpful to hear from you when that occurs. But even a novice editor, inaccurately identifying an 18th century Pennsylvania German, as I did for Simon Engeler in the Autumn 1978 issue (p. 18), should not do so with the direct ancestor of the fellow Ph.D., who is moreover a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists and Editor of *The American Genealogist*. I did; though as a result I can now forward more accurate information to you. This information is furnished by Dr. George E. McCracken of Des Moines, Iowa.

His article on the Englerts of Plainfield did appear in October 1975 and January 1976 issues of *American Genealogist*; it identified Simon Englert (1769-1849), who later lived and married in Wayne County. His father, Jacob Englert, listed as deceased in the Indenture, had died in the vain American attempt to hold Long Island and New York from British seizure in 1776. Jacob Englert was, we are informed, son of Adam Englert (d. 1763) who entered Pennsylvania 11 Sept. 1728, on David Crockatt's Ship *James Goodwill* (S-H, *Pa Ger Pioneers*, I, 21) though Englert was too ill to sign the oath when the ship landed. Readers are advised to correct their copy. Now another loyal informant can really make my day and clear the mystery too: Who then was the John Jacob Engler who entered on the *Leslie* in 1749?



Friends of folk dance and of folk costume will welcome the news that the *Landjugend-Trachtengruppe Nanzdietschweiler* (Country Youth Costumed Folk Dance Group from the vicinity of Nanzdietschweiler, West-Pfalz) will pay a three-week cultural visit to Pennsylvania, Indiana and Missouri in July 1979. A long established Young Rural Society, they began folk dancing in the traditional 18-19th century West Palatinate costume only fifteen years ago after an exchange visit to the Zillertal in Austria. By 1973, Nanzdietschweiler served as host for an International Costume Dance Festival and in 1975 they took part in the World Dance Festival at Mellansel in northern Sweden.

Landjugendgruppe Nanzdietschweiler will tour and dance in eastern Pennsylvania after arrival 3 July 1979 and will perform at the Kutztown Folk Festival on Friday, 6 July, when the first class of PDS 305 Penna Dutch Music meets there. They will function out of Collegeville during their tour in Pennsylvania. Then they plan similar visits to intensive farming regions of Indiana and to St. Louis during their American stay before return home to Nanzdietschweiler. Roland Paul of the Heimatstelle Pfalz, Kaiserslautern, has provided planning assistance and has helped organize the tour.



Persons with at least a reading knowledge of German, who enjoy a real challenge, will find their wit and their imagination fully tested in the yearly *Deutsche Schrift* course to be given June 18 to 29, 1979, at the Moravian Archives. With a wealth of resources and a variety of documents literally at their fingertips, staff members at the Archives will amaze and delight you. Never a dull moment, for there is simply no time for that. Enrollment is limited and time is short, so write very soon to: Vernon Nelson, Archivist, 41 West Locust St., Bethlehem, PA 18018.



To celebrate the 150th Anniversary of the birth of Carl Schurz, German-American patriot and freedom fighter, Dr. Hans Trefousse of Brooklyn College Program of Society in Change and Prof. Dr. Erich Angermann of the Anglo-Amerikanische Abteilung des Historischen Seminars, University of Cologne, are laying plans for a dual program. Initial portion will take place in Brooklyn 4 and 5 October 1979 and will include segments on Pennsylvania's Germans as well as those of the American Middle-west and from the Rhineland. Plans for a second portion at Köln in late November are still under consideration. Congratulations to both directors for a fitting tribute to a hero of two continents, Carl Schurz.



Sunshine and flowers now appearing remind us of the profusion of programs ahead which concern folk culture, the crafts and ethnic studies. At the Pennsylvania Farm Museum, Landis Valley, the 23d Institute of Penna. Rural Life & Culture will run June 19-22, 1979. Six seminars and seven workshops on the theme "The Rural Environment, Past and Present" will operate. Information from Penna. Historical & Museum Comm., P.O. Box 1026, Harrisburg 17120.

Mystery no longer! *Der John Schlongawatzel* of the *Schwenksville Item* was, in reality, the late Fritz Fry, resident of Highland Terrace, Schwenksville. First information came to us from Joe Bechtel who claims to have read most of *Der John und Die Marie* columns Fry wrote between 1928 and 1939 in the old *Item*. Then a reporter and general factotum for the newspaper, Fry later followed his photographic interests to Pottstown. We plan to print some of his dialect material in time.



Another outcome, this time as follow-up to Louis Winkler, Penna. *German Astronomy, Part XVI: German Language Almanacs*, is furnished by Brigitta Wichlajew, a fledgling researcher at Ursinus College. She compiled a basic list of German language almanacs in the Pennsylvania Folklife Society Archives, 301 Myrin Library, Ursinus College. Her format differs somewhat from that of Dr. Winkler, but is adequate as a finding guide and to inform potential researchers of the holdings we enjoy here.



GERMAN LANGUAGE ALMANACS IN COLLECTIONS AT URSINUS COLLEGE:
AN ADDENDUM

DER ALTE GERMANTOWN CALENDER

1851-52, 1862-64

DER AMERIKANISCH = DEUTSCHE HAUSFREUND
UND BALTIMORE CALENDER

1835

AMERICANISCHER STADT UND LAND CALENDER

1824, 1828, 1830-32, 1838-39, 1844-45, 1848, 1850-51,
1854, 1858

DER BAUERN CALENDER

1852

DER BAUERNFREUND KALENDER

1889, 1892

DES BAUERN UND HANDWERKSMANNES
CALENDER

1833, 1836, 1841-42, 1844, 1846-48, 1853, 1856

BUNDESBOTE-KALENDER

1893

CALENDER DES WELT-BOTEN

1871

DEUTSCHER KALENDER FÜR DIE EV. REFOR-
MIRTE KIRCHE

1867, 1875

DER GEMEINNÜSSIGE LANDWIRTHSCHAFTS
CALENDER

1826-29, 1832

DER HAGERSTAUNER CALENDER

1870

DER HOCH=DEUTSCHE GERMANTAUN CAL-
ENDER

1840-41

DER ILLUSTRIRTE CALENDER

1862, 1866

DER KALENDER DER EVANGELISCHEN GEMEIN-
SCHAFT

1868



KALENDER FÜR DIE REFORMIRTE KIRCHE IN
DEN VER. STAATEN

1873-74, 1879

DER LUTHERISCHE CALENDER

1859-60, 1866-68, 1873-77, 1879, 1881-82

DER NEUE ALLENTAUNER CALENDER

1837

DER NEUE AMERIKANISCHE LANDWIRTH-
SCHAFTS CALENDER

1884

DER NEUE PENNSYLVANISCHE STADT=UND
LAND=CALENDER

1824, 1827, 1829



DER NEUE READER CALENDER (DER NEUE
READING CALENDER; DER NEUE READING
ADLER CALENDER)

1843, 1847, 1849, 1852, 1856, 1858, 1861, 1864, 1866,
1871-74, 1877, 1881, 1883-84, 1888, 1896

NEUER CALENDER FÜR BAUERN UND HAND-
WERKER

1842

NEUER CALENDER FÜR DIE VEREINIGTEN
STAATEN

1846

NEUER GEMEINNÜSSIGER PENNSYLVANISCHER
CALENDER

1834-35, 1837, 1840, 1842, 1849-50, 1857, 1859,
1860-63, 1865-66, 1868-75, 1879-80, 1883-1901, 1903-04
NEUER-VERBESSERTER CALENDER

1839

NORD=AMERIKANISCHER CALENDER

1838, 1845, 1849, 1854-55

DER PENNSYLVANISCHE NÜCHTERHEITS
CALENDER

1835

PENNSYLVANISCHER CALENDER

1870, 1875-85, 1889

DER RECEPT-CALENDER UND FAMILIENWEG-
WEISER

1869-70

STADT=UND LAND=CALENDER

1853, 1857-58, 1865, 1878

VERBESSERTER CALENDER

1843

DER VOLKSFREUND UND HAEGERSTAUNER
CALENDER

1823-24

GERMAN LANGUAGE ALMANACS PUBLISHED
IN GERMANY IN URSINUS COLLECTION

SCHLUSSSTEIN LANDWIRTHSCHAFTS CALENDER

1843

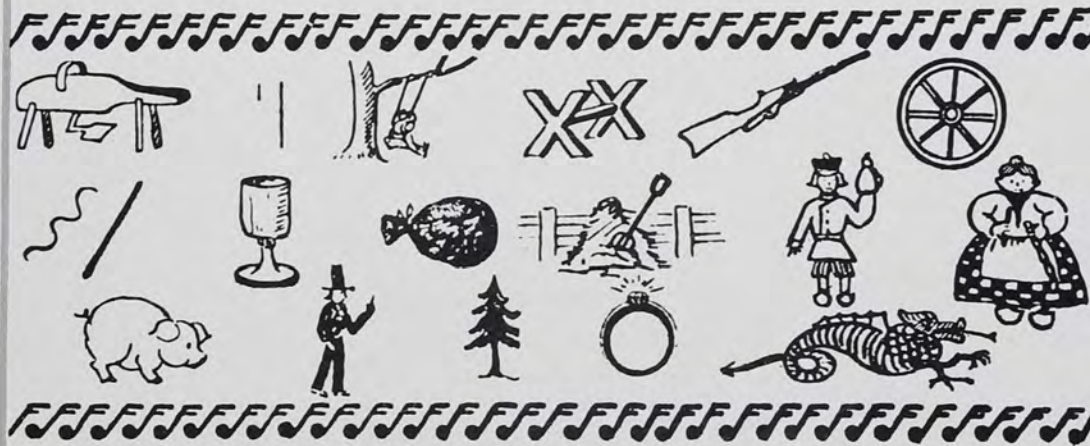
DER WINZER AM HAARDTGEBIRGE: EIN
KALENDER FÜR BÜRGER UND LANDMANN

1855

The Pennsylvania Folklife Society hosts a series of PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH STUDIES programs given concurrently with the summer Folk Festival at Kutztown. In previous years selected seminar courses on Folk Art, Folk Crafts and Folk Design have been offered. In July 1979 there will be a single Seminar course offered, one which was given originally at Ursinus College in the Summer of 1975 and then drew the largest seminar class to date. Courses offered this Summer at Festival and at Ursinus College are as follows:

July 2,3,5,6 from 9:00 a.m. to 12:15 p.m. each day
P.D.S. 438. Local Sources of Folk Culture (one credit) I. CLARENCE KULP

An overview of oral and printed sources for folk culture and folk traditions; artifacts and folk informants; organizing folk information. Taping the still remaining practitioners of the folk arts and beliefs. Assessment techniques and data accumulation procedures. The seminar will be taught by Isaac Clarence Kulp, one of the few persons continuously associated with the Kutztown Folk Festival since its inception in 1950.



SUMMER SESSION C - July 6 to July 26, 1979	9:00 to 11:30 a.m.
P.D.S. 305. Pennsylvania Dutch Music	DR. WM. T. PARSONS

Folk songs of German origin and from Pennsylvania; formal music by composers of Pennsylvania Dutch origin and spirit. *Three semester hours.*

SUMMER SESSION D - JULY 27 to AUGUST 16, 1979 9:00 to 11:30 am
P.D.S. 308. Pennsylvania Dutch Crafts VISITING LECTURER

History and theory of the eighteenth century occupational and domestic crafts of the Pennsylvania Dutch. Hands-on experiences and direct contact with craftsmen and craftswomen in a living history situation. Special assignments and special problems to meet the needs of individual students. *Three semester hours.*

For further information on the courses and on costs and availability of other services related to the Summer school, send inquiry to the editor or to:

Prof. Thomas E. Gallagher, Jr. Field Director, Pa. Dutch Studies,
Corson Hall, Ursinus College, Collegeville, Pa. 19426



The Festival and its Sponsorship

The Kutztown Folk Festival is sponsored by the Pennsylvania Folklife Society, a nonprofit educational corporation affiliated with URSINUS COLLEGE, Collegeville, Pennsylvania. The Society's purposes are threefold: First, the demonstrating and displaying of the lore and folkways of the Pennsylvania Dutch through the annual Kutztown Folk Festival; second, the collecting, studying, archiving and publishing the lore of the Dutch Country and Pennsylvania through the publication of PENNSYLVANIA FOLKLIFE Magazine; and third, using the proceeds for scholarships and general educational purposes at URSINUS COLLEGE.



FOR THE FOLK FESTIVAL BROCHURE WRITE TO:

Pennsylvania Folklife Society
College Blvd. & Vine, Kutztown, Pa. 19530

